XEROX

Xerox University Microfilms
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

WESTERN AMERICANA

Reproduced from the original in the collection of
THE HENRY E. HUNTINGTON LIBRARY AND ART GALLERY

III.

AMERICAN EXPLORERS SERIES.

On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer.

VOL. I.

ON THE TRAIL OF A SPANISH PIONEER

THE

DIARY AND ITINERARY

OF

FRANCISCO GARCÉS

(Missionary Priest)

IN HIS TRAVELS THROUGH SONORA,
ARIZONA, AND CALIFORNIA

1775-1776

TRANSLATED FROM AN OFFICIAL CONTEMPORANEOUS COPY OF
THE ORIGINAL SPANISH MANUSCRIPT, AND EDITED,
WITH COPIOUS CRITICAL NOTES

BY

ELLIOTT COUES

Editor of Lewis and Clark, of Pike, of Henry and Thompson,
Fowler Journal, Larpenteur, etc., etc.

EIGHTEEN MAPS, VIEWS, AND FACSIMILES

IN TWO VOLUMES

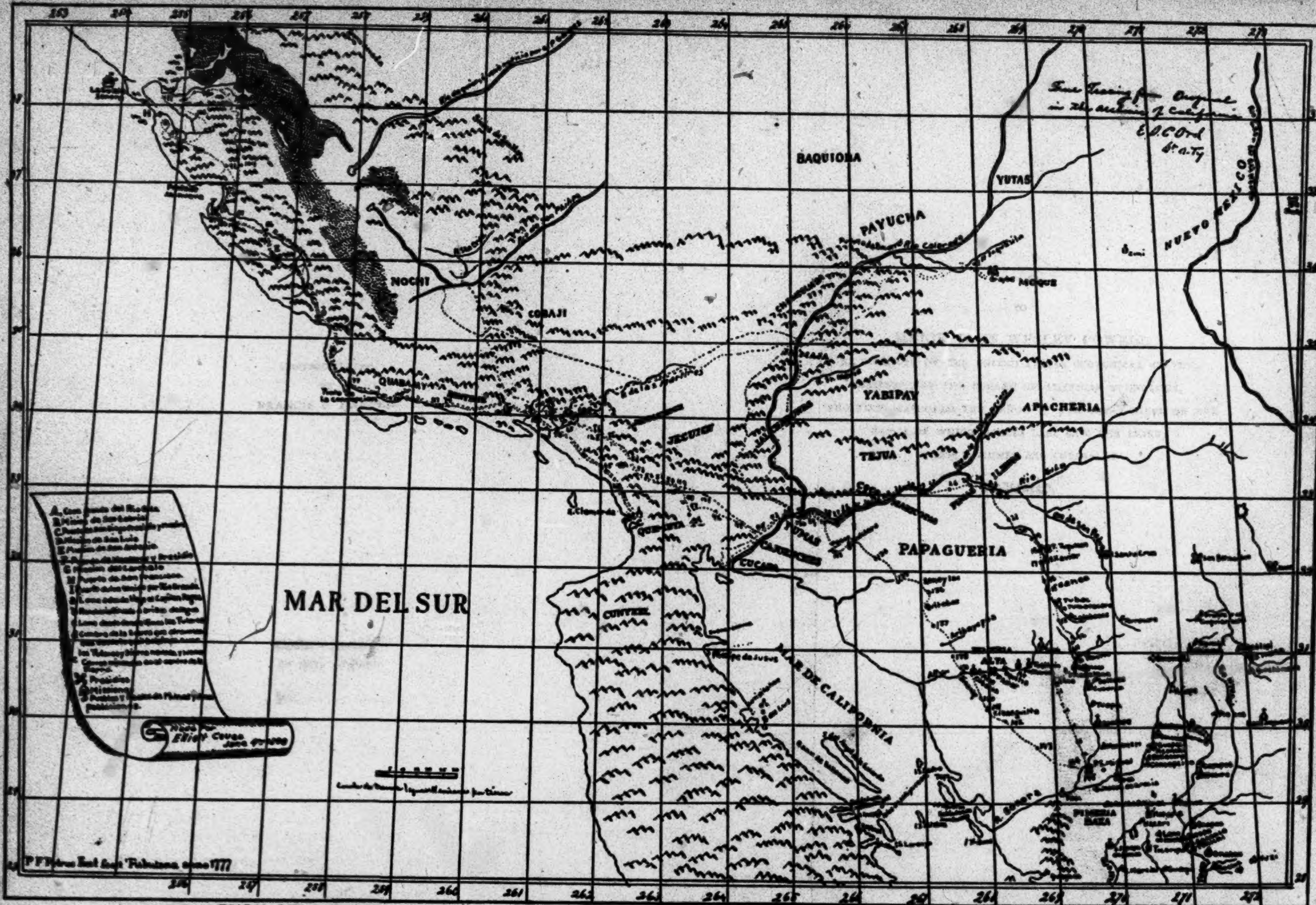
VOL. I

NEW YORK
FRANCIS P. HARPER
1900

F799
G22
v.1

COPYRIGHT, 1900,
BY
FRANCIS P. HARPER.

Edition Limited
to 950 Copies.
No. 163


True Tracing from Original
in the Archives of California
E. O. C. Ord
Lt. a. Ty
BAQUIOBA
YUTAS
PAYUCHA
Rio Colorado
NUEVO MEXICO
MOQUI
NOCHI
COBAJI
QUABAJAY
JECUICHE
YABIPAY
APACHERIA
TEJUA
Rio Gila
YUMAS
CAJUENCHES
CUCAPA
PAPAGUERIA
MAR DEL SUR
CUNYEIL
MAR DE CALIFORNIA
ALTA
PIMERIA BAXA
P F Petrus Font fecit Tubutama anno 1777

DIENTE AL DIARIO QUE FORMO EL P. F. PEDRO FONT DEL VIAGE QUE HIZO A MONTEREY Y PUERTO DE SAN FRANCISCO, Y DEL VIAGE QUE HIZO EL P. GARCES AL MOQUI

(Copy made in Bureau of Topogl Engrs
Feby. 14th 1857)

TO

MAJOR JOHN WESLEY POWELL,

EX-DIRECTOR OF THE UNITED STATES GEOLOGICAL SURVEY,

DIRECTOR OF THE BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY,

WHO FIRST EXPLORED THE CAÑON OF THE GREAT RIVER ON THE

BANKS OF WHICH GARCÉS LAST SAW THE LIGHT,

THESE VOLUMES ARE CORDIALLY

Dedicated.

PUBLISHER'S NOTE.

It is with the deepest regret we announce that Dr. Elliott Coues, the author and editor of the various works on Western Exploration which it has been our privilege to publish, passed away to his final resting place December 25, 1899. Though suffering great pain, he with cheerful courage revised the last proofs and wrote the Introduction to this his final work.

We have not to do here with his place as a student and historian of Western history and the Western country, nor of the value of the fifteen volumes of which he was the author-editor; but we deem it a duty and a pleasure publicly to testify our appreciation of him from a publisher's point of view.

Our acquaintance with Dr. Coues commenced in 1892, when we suggested his revising and editing a new edition of "Lewis and Clark Expedition." From that time until his death we have been almost in daily communication with him, and never had a single misunderstanding of any kind. While jealous of his rights as author, still we always found him willing to make any correction or addition that we could explain would be for the success and best interest of the work in hand. He had a capacity for work that was almost beyond belief; and was always prompt and businesslike in his methods. He was a firm and trustworthy friend and an ideal author for a publisher to have business relations with.

CONTENTS.

PAGE
Introduction, ... xiii
Biography of Garcés, ... 1
The Four Entradas of Garcés, 1768-74, ... 25
  First Entrada, to the Gila, 1768, ... 25
  Second Entrada, to the Gila, 1770, ... 26
  Third Entrada, to the Gila and Colorado, 1771, . . . 30
  Fourth Entrada, to the Gila, Colorado, and San Gabriel in California, 1774, ... 38

CHAPTER I.

Officialities and Other Preliminaries, to October 21, 1775, ... 47

CHAPTER II.

From Tubac to Casas Grandes on Rio Gila, October 23-31, 1775, ... 63

CHAPTER III.

Down Rio Gila to Yuma, November, 1775, ... 102

CHAPTER IV.

PAGE
DOWN RIO COLORADO FROM YUMA TO THE GULF AND RETURN, DECEMBER, 1775, ... 154

CHAPTER V.

UP RIO COLORADO FROM YUMA TO MOJAVE, JANUARY AND FEBUARY, 1776, ... 200

CHAPTER VI.

FROM MOJAVE TO SAN GABRIEL, MARCH–APRIL 8, 1776, . 234

CHAPTER VII.

FROM SAN GABRIEL THROUGH THE TULARES TO MOJAVE, APRIL 9–MAY, 1776, ... 265

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

VOL. I.

Pedro Font's Map of 1777, ... *Frontispiece*
Facsimile of Bucaréli Autograph, . . *Facing page* 56
Facsimile of Proclamation Expelling Jesuits by Marquès de Croix, ... " " 58
Church of San Xavier del Bac, ... " " 78
Ground Plan of Casa Grande (after Mindeleff), ... " " 94
View of Casa Grande in 1890, ... " " 100
Section of Ives' Map of the Lower Colorado, " " 192
Mission of San Diego, ... " " 207
Mission of San Gabriel, ... " " 249

INTRODUCTION.

Garcés was a Spanish priest and Franciscan friar who traveled extensively in Sonora, Arizona, and California in the years 1768-81 as a missionary to various Indian tribes. In the earlier of these years he was the resident minister at San Xavier del Bac, then in Sonora, now in Arizona, on the Rio Santa Cruz. From this post of duty he made several expeditions, mainly for ecclesiastical purposes, *i. e.,* to bring Indians under the catechism of the church and the vassalage of the King of Spain, but also in part to discover a means of communication between the widely separated settlements of New Mexico and California, and thus for geographical purposes. The first two of these expeditions, respectively of 1768 and 1770, were of comparatively little consequence. The third one, of 1771, extended along Rio Gila and down Rio Colorado nearly if not quite to the mouth of the latter, being thus a considerable enterprise, though not notable in its results. On his fourth expedition, in 1774, he accompanied Captain J. B. de Anza to the Californian mission of San Gabriel, on the return from which he took a turn on his own account to one of the Yuman tribes on the Colorado. These four "entradas," as they were called, are presented with sufficient particularity in the present volume; but this work is devoted mainly to the Fifth Entrada of our good missionary, performed in 1775-76; in the former of which years Garcés started with Anza's celebrated expedition for the establishment of a mission and colony at San Francisco in California, thus laying the foundation for that great city, but separated from the main party at Yuma, at the junction of the Gila and Colorado, then went to the mouth of the latter river, returned, went up the Colorado to Mojave, thence across California to San Gabriel, thence by way of Tulare Valley back to Mojave, thence to Moqui and back again to Mojave, thence down river to Yuma, and so on up the Gila to his post at Bac.

The Diario y Derrotero, or Diary and Itinerary, which the indefatigable padre kept on his long, arduous, and somewhat perilous journey, was fully written out by him at the Sonoran mission of Tubutama, in January, 1777. The original holograph should be extant; but I know nothing about that. Three different copies or versions of the original are in my hands, two in manuscript and one in print; I will call them *A*, *B*, *C*, and characterize them as follows:

A. Diario del Padre Fray Francisco Garcés. Manuscript, folio, size of ordinary foolscap, 11⅞ × 8⅛, 211 pages, including title leaf backed blank, excluding blank page 212 and one blank leaf. In Library of the Bureau of American Ethnology at Washington, No. 7415, received in 1897 from Dr. Nicolas León of Guadalupe Hidalgo, D. F., Mexico. This copy lacks the map which should, or once did accompany it, or at any rate belonged with the original; it is otherwise perfect. The handwriting is not known; but it is beautifully firm, regular, and characteristic of some professional scribe or clerk who made the copy, presumably from Garcés' own writing, for archive purposes. The manuscript is therefore official and genuine, but not authentic. The date of the writing is closely ascertainable by internal evidence, as follows: The original having been finished, dated, and signed by Garcés at Tubutama in January, 1777, this copy was made before August 4, 1785. For, all through at intervals, it is annotated in the margin in a different handwriting, and the same handwriting of the scholiast appears in a note at the end, on pages 210, 211, signed Miguel Valero Olea, and dated August 4, 1785. Olea was then in the viceregal secretary's office at the City of Mexico. Through the kind offices of Mr. F. W. Hodge, of the Bureau above said, this manuscript was placed in my hands April 30, 1898, with permission to make any use of it I might think proper; and I have translated it to form the basis of the present work.

B. Diario del P. Garcés. Manuscript, small 4to, 8⅜ × 6⅛, pp. 60 or leaves 30, preceded by a leaf bearing in Dr. León's hand a supplied title and some other data; from which it appears that this copy was made in or for the archives of the Convento de la Cruz de Querétaro by Padre Fray Pablo de la Purísima Concepción Beaumont, who died in 1779. It was therefore made within a year or two of Garcés' original and is authentic and genuine, if not official. The handwriting is plain enough, but cramped and scratchy, and so small that some 55 lines go to each page. This manuscript belongs (1899) to Dr. León, being only temporarily in the custody of Mr. Hodge, and in my hands for examination.

C. Diario y derrotero que siguió el M. R. | P. Fr. Francisco Garces en su viaje he- | cho desde Octubre de 1775 hasta 17 de | Setiembre de 1776, al Rio Colorado pa- | ra reconocer las naciones que habitan | sus márgenes, y á los pueblos del Mo- | qui del Nuevo-México. | Being article IV., pp. 225-374, of vol. I of the second series of the work entitled: Documentos para la Historia de México, 12mo, México, imprenta de F. Escalante y Comp., calle de Cadena N. 13, 1854. This collection of printed documents is well known to scholars, extending to four series, altogether some 20 volumes: but none of them are common now, and the second series is quite rare; I was more than a year in laying hands on the copy now before me, with exceptional facilities for procuring it. This is the only form in which Garcés' Diario has ever appeared in print; and it has never before been translated into English. It has thus remained until now practically inaccessible. This document, as printed from some manuscript copy of the original unknown to me, is genuine, but neither authentic nor official, as we do not know by whom the manuscript that is printed was made, nor for what purpose. The print on very poor paper is clear and open, but the composition of the types was careless; it bristles with typographical errors, and exhibits all those eccentric frailties of punctuation and accentuation, and perversions of proper names of persons and places, for which Mexican literature is so justly celebrated. It is of course better known than either of the other two forms of the Diary here described, and is that form in which Garcés has usually been quoted, as by Bandelier, Bancroft, and other late writers on the history of Sonora, New Mexico, Arizona, and California.

Comparison of the three forms in which Garcés has thus reached me shows such variants in the verbiage that they may almost be considered as three different versions of the same story. The difference is so great that I have no doubt Garcés himself made, or caused to be made, more than one "original" account of his journey of 1775-76. There must have been at least two such *origines*, one from which my copy *A* was made, and the other the source of the Beaumont manuscript *B*, and the printed *C*—for *B* and *C* are much closer in language to each other than either of them is to *A*. In fact, *B* and *C* may almost be said to be paraphrases of *A*. Nevertheless, all three versions are genuine; they all tell the identical story with substantial accuracy, and agree in all material particulars—barring their respective lapses in transcription of names, dates, etc., or in case of *C*, its errors of the types. It is the exception rather than the rule that all three spell Indian names alike, and indeed each of them has its own special variants in handling these troublesome terms. Each of the three, furthermore, has many clauses, even some sentences or paragraphs, not found in either of the other two. Thus they are mutually corroborative, amplificative, or corrective.

Under these circumstances, in turning Garcés into English, it was of course necessary to follow one of the versions to the exclusion of the others, and for this purpose I selected *A*, for various reasons: It was the first which came into my hands—in fact, I had translated it before I saw either of the others. It is somewhat fuller or more elaborate than either of the others, the persons who prepared each of the latter seem to have been more intent upon saying the same thing in fewer and often in plainer words, than in "following copy" punctually. Copy *A* is thus the most perfect one we possess, besides being the official or archival one, and the one which nobody has hitherto utilized for any purpose.

I note here with pleasure the very close concordance of all three copies in the matter of dates, and in fact wherever figures are concerned. Yet in one notable date, all three differ. This is the date of completion of an original manuscript. Copy *A* has as colophon "Tubutáma y Enero 3 de 1777—Fray Francisco Garzes." Beaumont (*B*) has: "En Tubutama. I. de henero de 1777. Fr. Franc° Garcès." The printed *C* has, p. 394: "Tabutama y Enero 30 de 1777.—Fray Francisco Garcés." Hence we have three different dates and three variants of the author's name. Again, the initial date of Garcés' Diario differs in copy *A*, which gives October 1, 1776, as the date on which the author went to Tubac to join the expedition; both *B* and *C* having October 21. I think the latter is correct, as the next date in all three copies is October 22.

But to pursue the subject of these variants exhaustively would take me almost into their every paragraph, and it could be completely shown up only by means of the "deadly parallel" in triple column. Let me simply repeat the statement that in translating Garcés *I have followed copy A,* only bringing up in my notes certain discrepancies which seemed to require attention, and in a very few places bracketing in the text some insertions from *B* or *C* of certain entries which the scribe of copy *A* accidentally omitted.

With regard to the principles upon which I have done the Spanish into English, a few words may be expected of me. Bearing acutely in mind the Italian saying that the translator is the traducer, I have tried my best to prove an exception to that rule. Where I have wished to abuse my gentle and most lovable author for his fanaticism, his bigotry, his ecclesiasticism (as they seem to me), I have done it in my notes; in my text always holding his words themselves in a sort of superstitious awe of my own, just as he did his holy religion. My aim has been to translate Garcés literally, punctually, even with scrupulosity; to translate his every word by its nearest English equivalent, and to give this word-for-word revision as nearly in the order in which the Spanish words run as English idiom will admit. The result is, that my translation makes pretty rough English, of more use than beauty. But it is sound, grammatical English for all that; and to my notion more desirable in a case like this than the most elegant paraphrase would be. I knew that if I once gave myself a loose rein in this matter, I should never have known where to stop; and Couesian English of 1899, however nice I might make it, would fit

Garcés of 1775-6 as well as a modern swallow-tail coat on a seedy friar of more than a century ago. If some of the words I have deliberately chosen are obsolete, quaint, or otherwise objectionable, from a certain point of view—well, so is Garcés obsolete, and his figure a quaint one, and his appearance in the ragged robe he wore would be objectionable on the score of anachronism. I think I have sometimes strained English idiom almost to the point of rupture in my strenuous efforts to give a word-for-word version; but *tours de force* in the way of twisting phraseology are less objectionable than negligently wrenching the sense of the original by too free a paraphrase.

Some will doubtless demur to the numerous Spanish phrases which I have left in the text in parentheses. But I have some excuses to offer for that; sometimes I wished to support my translation in this way; sometimes I wished to show that I was obliged by English idiom to turn the phraseology slightly; in some rare instances I felt a little dubious of myself and wished to give the reader a chance to judge whether I translated correctly or otherwise; besides, I desired to give him a great many examples of my author's own verbiage. Some will find occasion to demur that I have not always translated my author—that I have left too many Spanish words untranslated, like *rancheria, pueblo, laguna, pozo, arroyo, rio, cazon, cañada,* *mesa, cerro, picacho, sierra, entrada.* To such a demurrer I have no reply to make, for it is not worth my while to mind such things. There is one point about my work with which any critic who desires may find as much fault as he pleases; that is, my apparent attitude of indifference to niceties of Spanish punctuation; for he will do well if he can find at my pen's point more irregularity or discrepancy or indifference than I can show him in the manuscript upon which I worked, or than exists, in fact, in most Spanish documents, printed or handwritten, of Garcés' time. To my limited vision the use of accents in Spanish seems a freakish thing, and very largely an affair of grammatical supererogation; it is al′most al′ways a mat′ter of in′dicating enuncia′tion or stress of voice, not pronuncia′tion, as in the sentences I have just penned, and ordinarily quite as superfluous, as few things in this changeable world are less variable than the actual quality of Spanish vowels. Most of my apparent sinning in this respect will be found, on sufficient examination, to be due to the singular fidelity with which I reproduce the Spanish texts which I have occasion to quote; and therefore, a criticaster would waste his time in abusing me for not being holier than the Pope.

There is another point in which I pride myself on being scrupulous even to scrupulosity, and that is, the rendering of all proper names, whether of persons or places, precisely as they occur in the Spanish. I think that translation of such terms is bad—very bad, reprehensible, and a nuisance. I should not like to figure at the hands of some Spaniard yet unborn as Elióto Vácas or Bácas, and why should I take such a liberty? So if Garcés chooses to call a place the Laguna de Santa Olaya or Pueblo de la Purísima Concepcion de la Virgen Santísima, such is the name of such place, and it is none of our business to call it Saint Eulalie's lagoon or the Village of the Immaculate Conception of the Most Holy Virgin. Once more: if our author comes to a place which he calls Oraibe, Oraibi, Oraybe, Oraive, Oreyve, etc., with cheerful indifference, why are we restricted to one of these terms? There was no fixed spelling in his day, all these forms are equally serviceable, and I follow copy in my own use of them. Garcés' own name reaches us in five forms or more, if we count the accent or its absence as determining a form; and though I have selected the one of these for my own use which he seems to have used himself, yet in quoting his biographer, Arricivita, I use Garzes.

One who should take exception to any of the points above mooted would betray to anyone familiar with the vagaries of Spanish documentary history the fact that he knew nothing about them.

Of the high historical value of the Diary of Garcés there can be no adverse opinions among those qualified to judge of such matters; and this narrative of adventure will have all the charm of novelty to most persons, to whom even the Spanish print is inaccessible for the double reason of its foreign tongue and its scarceness, while the manuscripts are unknown except to special students. Therefore the desirability of this readily available English version is obvious. Yet the Diary without amplification, explanation, and illustration would be a riddle solvable only by one who would be more able and willing than most readers to give heed to it. Garcés requires to be interpreted to a generation which wots not of this martyr missionary, and has no adequate notion of his time, place, and circumstance. The longest known corner of the United States seems to me to be the least generally known of all. To most persons Arizona is a vague name of a place in which there is a great chasm called the Grand Cañon of the Colorado, and where some strange Indians live like ants in a hill in places called pueblos. Again, what of California to the average person, over the Sierra Nevada, away from the populous parts? Nothing—and in fact there is little but a howling wilderness to-day in the parts adjoining Arizona; though this desert is traversed by two railroads, it has not otherwise changed much in the last century. As for Sonora, nobody seems to know much about it, though a considerable slice of what was Sonora in Garcés' time now belongs to the United States, being all that portion of Arizona which lies south of the Gila. There could hardly be a better introduction to a considerable amount of United States history than such a knowledge of its southwestern corner as the Diary of Garcés affords.

In 1775-76, when our author traveled so far in all the regions just said, all that part of Arizona which was not Sonora was New Mexico. There was not a white man in Arizona, excepting two or three handfuls of them in some Spanish forts or mines along what is now its southern border; Tubac and Tucson were the uttermost white settlements. Over most of the land roamed the Apache, the terror of all whites and of most Indians in all that country. In the region of the Gila, where slender crops could be raised, were the sedentary tribes of the Pimas, Papagoes and Maricopas, not very different from what they are to-day. All along the Colorado, from the head of the Gulf of California to the Grand Cañon, were a series of tribes of Yuman stock, and a little one of them lived as it does to-day, apart at the bottom of that hole in the ground now known as Cataract Cañon. Nearest these last, eastward, were the Hopis or Moquis in their several pueblos on adjacent mesas, almost identical with their present positions. Beyond them on the east and a little to the south, just over the border of Arizona in modern New Mexico, were the Zuñis, in the very pueblo and on the identical spot they now occupy. All beyond these Moquis to the north was the still unfathomed Northern Mystery of which only short glimpses had been had till Escalante in the same year pushed on from Santa Fe to discover Utah Lake, and swung around home across the Grand Cañon, then first traversed, although not first seen, by a white man. And what of our California on the west of Arizona? There was not a white man in it, aside from the five missions thus far established (1769-72) on or near the coast, unless it were some fugitive soldier who had deserted his post. The purpose of Anza's expedition which now journeyed thither was to add one to these missionary settlements, and it was added,—the germ of the present metropolis at the Golden Gate of the Pacific.

Garcés had been the year before across the California desert as far as San Gabriel, and what he saw seemed to influence his zeal for the salvation of souls, as well as to inspire his mind with a desire to achieve the more practical result of opening a way between Santa Fe on the Rio Grande del Norte and the new establishments on the Pacific coast. He was not to go to San Francisco, but to wander elsewhere, covering several hundred leagues without a white companion, relying upon

Indians to show him the way he wished or was obliged to go. His peregrinations extended farther than those of any other missionary of his day who went unattended. His loneliness reached a pathetic climax at Moqui, his farthermost point, where those he loved and had come so far to save from perdition would have none of him or his religion, gave him nothing to eat or a place to lay his head, and turned him out of town between two days.

If we follow Garcés in his adventures we shall learn much, and among other things to love the character of the man. Garcés was a true soldier of the cross, neither greater nor lesser than thousands of other children of the church, seeking the bubble of salvation at the price of the martyr's crown; his was not his own life, but that of God who gave it. Better than all that, perhaps, this humble priest, like Abou ben Adhem, was one who loved his fellow men. It made him sick at heart to see so many of them going to hell for lack of the three drops of water he would sprinkle over them if they would let him do so. I repeat it—Garcés, like Jesus, so loved his fellow men that he was ready to die for them. What more could a man do—and what were danger, suffering, hardship, privation, in comparison with the glorious reward of labor in the vineyard of the Lord? This is true religion, of whatever sect or denomination, called by whatever name.

So Garcés followed the example of his master whithersoever it led him, in these years of 1775-76, and thereafter till 1781, when some of those he loved and sought to save fell upon him with clubs and beat him to death. It is a sad story; all the sadder does it seem to us now, when we can see how utterly senseless were the methods employed for the most noble and holy purposes, how utterly futile the results. But it does not lessen our respect for the man, that he, like his Indians, was the victim of the most pernicious, most immoral, and most detestable system of iniquity the world has ever seen—that Spanish combination of *misionero* and *conquistador* which had for its avowed and vaunted end the reduction of Indian tribes to the catechism of the church and the vassalage of the throne.

But I should not preach a sermon by way of preface to these new volumes of the American Explorer Series. Those who are interested in stories of adventure, in historical materials such as these, will read the book, and form their own opinion both of the author and his editor, and of the scenes of the former's life-work. I think such things are worth doing, therefore I do them, to the best of my knowledge and ability, sparing nothing to set them forth in their clearest light. If I could venture to agree even a little with some of my most partial friends, who think I have any genius, I should think that, if so, it is simply the genius of hard work—which I suppose amounts to an ability to hold down the chair at my desk for long periods and capacity for taking great pains with every detail of the work I have in hand. The general character of the commentary or annotation I have put upon Garcés is the same as that in my previous works, which are now so many that little requires to be said; but I may add that in this instance I have very special interest in the subject-matter, having resided in Arizona at three widely separated intervals (1864-65, 1880-81, 1892), traveled over most of the territory, especially off the present lines of rails, and trailed nearly all of Garcés' routes, both in Arizona and California. I am therefore exceptionally familiar with his lines of travel and the scenes he witnessed. In this matter of annotating my author I have had the valued and valuable assistance of Mr. F. W. Hodge of the Bureau of American Ethnology, who has placed his knowledge of Indian tribes at my service, and to whom I have practically turned over the ethnological as distinguished from the geographical and historical aspects of the subject in hand. His numerous notes bear his initials, and I am sure add much to the interest these volumes may be found to possess. I am further indebted to Mr. Hodge for much bibliographical information, and he has read the proof-sheets with me, so that I have had the benefit of his intelligent scrutiny throughout. I have also to thank Col. F. F. Hilder of the same Bureau, Mr. Will. M. Tipton and Mr. H. O. Flipper of the United States Court of Private Land Claims at Santa Fe, and Mr. José Segura, ex-librarian of the Territory of New Mexico, whose familiarity with the Spanish language is greater or at any rate more workable than my own, for aid in any case in which I felt a doubt that I had rendered my author with entire fidelity. Under these circumstances, it is hoped that errors of fact may be few; though no work of this kind can be quite free from them.

I notice in the editorial Introduction to the *Documentos* already cited a paragraph so apt to the present case that I will transcribe it, in conclusion:

"La generalidad de los lectores encontrará estas páginas frias y enfadosas: así es la verdad; pero, preferimos al deleite pasajero, el provecho que de aquí podrá sacar para cosas de importancia."

ELLIOTT COUES.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
November, 1899.

BIOGRAPHY OF GARCÉS.

The work entitled: Crónica Seráfica y Apostólica del Colegio de Propaganda Fide de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro en la Nueva España, escrita por el P. Fr. Juan Domingo Arricivita, Secunda Parte, en México, año de 1792, Libro Quarto, Capítulo xvi, pp. 540-574, "Gloriosa muerte con que el P. Fr. Francisco Garzés coronó sus apostólicas tareas, muriendo á manos de los bárbaros que con grandes trabajos tenia conqvistados," furnishes the data for our biographical purposes, though it is rather a eulogy of the martyr than the life of a man, besides being too theological for practical consideration, and thus requiring abridgment in the following free translation which I make:

Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of the just, for it is not the lot of all, derived from our first father, Adam, but a very glorious gift of divine love, like unto that which our Redeemer Jesus Christ suffered for the love of man. Wherefore whenever incomprehensible Providence predestines anyone to the exalted function of the salvation of souls, him doth He adorn with the qualities which from the beginning of his life carry him on to the end, that his death may be precious in the divine presence. Thus appeared to be directed the life of Padre Fray Francisco Garzés, for from his earliest years he gave constant proofs of the ardent love he bore to God and of the fervid zeal with which he solicited the welfare of souls.

He was born in the Villa de Morata del Conde, in the Reyno de Aragon, on the 12th of April, 1738, and baptized next day, receiving the names of Francisco Tomás Hermenegildo, of which he acquitted himself in his life and in his death, since he was a disciple of San Francisco professing his rule, imitated Santo Tomás in entering the Indias to promulgate the Holy Evangel, and died like San Hermenegildo in giving up his life for Jesucristo. His parents were Juan Garzés and Antonia Maestro; but seeing the inclination of the child for sacred things, his early education was intrusted to an uncle, named Mosen Domingo Garzés, curate of the same city; profiting by whose example and teaching, he had hardly completed his fifteenth year when he sought holy orders in the saintly and conventual Province of Aragon, where he made his profession with the approbation of the Religious. The prelates soon set him to his studies, and having been approved in philosophy he was sent to the convent of the Ciudad de Calatayud to study sacred theology. In this he reaped fruits not only to his own advantage, but also to that of those about him; and there began to scintillate the rays which divine love kindled in his heart of that zeal with which he was to announce in this new world and to every creature the Holy Evangel.

It was customary in this convent to take the students walking in the fields for freedom of debate, and in these outings Padre Garzés would leave his condisciples to seek poor laborers, and with the suavity natural to his genius and with smooth words would he propound and explain to them the divine mysteries and catholic truths. Among others who had the benefit of this was a poor potter who made tiles, and was pleased to listen to the student as if he were an oracle. The potter fell seriously sick, and being told to prepare himself to receive the holy sacraments, said that he would confess to no one but Padre Garzés. . .

Having finished his studies, and been ordained in the priesthood, at 25 years of age, his heart was moved by the desire to be of use to others; so that he begged with insistency to be admitted among the number of the missionaries who were just then being collected for the Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro and its missions to the infidels. No sooner had he received his commission and shown it to his prelates than he went on foot to Madrid, relying on divine providence for his daily bread. There came with him Padre Fray Juan Crysóstomo Gil, who was also listed for this mission, and their hearts were one in making their spiritual devotions, Garzés remaining in all things obedient to the directions of Gil, under which he gave himself up with great fervor to prayer, mortification, and seclusion from the world, persevering in this holy union until his arrival at the college.

Padre Garzés entered therein in 1763, at the age of 28 [*sic*]. From the first he was diligent in the service of the choir and other offices of the community, and in such other tasks as he could perform in fulfillment of the apostolic ministry. As he could not confess women on account of his youth, he was indefatigable in the claustrum with continual confessions of men, dedicating himself with particular application to those of boys. . . Such notable zeal pointed the padre out as fit for graver things for which the Lord destined him in teaching rude and ignorant gentiles; and for this purpose was he one of the first missionaries who in 1767 begged the prelate of the college for the missions of Sonora. He obediently went with the others to Tepique, and there applied himself to apostolic ministry during the three months they awaited transportation by boat. On Jan. 20, 1768, they embarked at the Puerto de San Blas, and presently the sea gave them sensible proofs of its bitterness; the waves rose, the winds blew furiously, and the navigators were put in fear of immediate shipwreck. Three and a half stormy months passed, and though some ports were made, Padre Garzés never lost courage, but stayed on the ship till he reached the Puerto de Guaymas.

All the missionaries together went to the Presidio de Horcasitas, and in the distributions of missions which the governor made Padre Garzés was assigned to San Xavier del Bac, distant 20 leagues from the Presidio de Tubac;[1] this was the northernmost, and consequently least defended against the continual cruel incursions of the Apaches on the frontier. Not less hostile to health and life are the natural conditions of climate, for the water is alkaline and the air is constipating, so that all who go there to live are subject to very severe chills and fevers, of which many die, and those who survive are reduced to skeletons; consequently the Indians flee for refuge to the mission. Nor was the extreme poverty in which the padre found the mission less forbidding, for there was nothing in it for him to get along with even in penury. Yet nothing daunted the spirit of the new missionary; for in self-forgetfulness he sought only the spiritual welfare of those neophytes and gentiles, thinking nothing of perils, toils, and sicknesses.

---

[1] Garcés arrived at Bac on June 30, 1768. This date is given in the first one of four letters which he wrote from Bac in 1768-69, and which are printed in Documentos para la Historia de Mexico, 4th series, vol. ii, pp. 365-377 (Mexico, 1856). They contain nothing remarkable, but may be here noted: 1. Letter dated July 29, 1768, to Sr. D. Juan Bautista de Anza; in this Garcés' arrival at Bac is given, as just said. 2. Letter to Sr. Gobernador Don Juan de Pineda, of same date. 3. Letter to the same, dated Feb. 21, 1769. 4. Letter to the same, dated July 23, 1769. A full descriptive and historical note on Bac, and one on Tubac, are given beyond. The distance between these two places is nothing like the 20 leagues said by Arricivita.

Such zeal was the admiration of the Indians. . . All those of Pimeria Alta venerated him as an oracle, and his fame reached the neighboring gentiles, called Papagos, . . . who extended it to the Pimas of the Gila, to whom he had sent many loving messages, in consequence of which the principal chiefs came to make his acquaintance. He showed them how highly he appreciated their visit, did all he could for them, and informed them of his desire to go to their lands and communicate with their people. Pleased with this, they promised to speak to their whole nation, and send guides to conduct him thither. In fact they did send four, with whom, without any escort or supply of food, he left his mission in August, 1768, and entering the largest rancherias announced peace with God, telling them of the divine mysteries and attributes, and peace with the king our lord, who wished to confer many benefits upon them, if they would become Christians. On this *first* entrada[a] he estabtablished friendly relations with the innumerable Indians who inhabit both banks of the Gila.

The following year of 1769, at the time of the Apache campaign, he entered their country, and observed various nations, of whom there were not a few in his village. The visitador general reported upon the means of preventing the bloody irruptions of those barbarians. In 1770 God sent an epidemic of diarrhea and measles to the rancherias of the Gila, of which many died, especially children; and the padre, being advised that among the sick there was an Indian woman, determined to go to her assistance and to gratify the Indians who importuned him to baptize their little ones. This was a journey of 90 leagues (Garcés' *second* entrada).

In 1771, believing that the founding of missions had already been decreed, he undertook to go to prepare the Indians for this, and reached the Rio Colorado, where the Yumas received him with joy.

---

[a] For Garcés' first, second, third, and fourth entradas see in further detail beyond.

Thence he descended to the disemboguement of the river in the sea and to the lands of the Quiquimas, crossed the river on rafts, and visited many peoples, making peace among them, and in two months and 20 days traveled more than 300 leagues (Garcés' *third* entrada).

On Jan. 2 [read 8], 1774, he left Tubac with the expedition which was to open communication between Sonora and Monterey, and having reached the mission of San Gabriel returned to the Colorado river to search the minds of the Indians and discover a way to New Mexico; for which purpose he visited many nations, and did not return to his mission till toward the end of September (Garcés' *fourth* entrada).

In September, 1775,[8] he went to join the new expedition to the Puerto de San Francisco, from which he separated on Dec. 5, and alone visited the nations of the Rio Colorado down to its disemboguement in the sea, until Jan. 3, 1776. On Feb. 14 he started north [from Yuma], and with incredible difficulty went through very barbarous nations until he reached the Noches. Thence he proceeded to Moqui, and having come back through the Pimas reached his mission of Bac Sept. 17, 1776, having been gone altogether eleven months and four days [read 10 months and 27 days], in which he traveled upward of 900 leagues, and saw more than 25,000 Indians [?].

---

[8] This brings us to Garcés' *fifth* entrada, which forms the main body of the present work. Nevertheless, I present Arricivita's summary here. His "September" is one month out: see p. 63.

About the end of August, 1779, he went by order of the comandante general to the Colorado. Finding the Indians much changed, he counseled them in their inquietude, and advised them what was necessary to avert evil consequences. But his advice was rejected, and when he took some unusual means of bringing them to vassalage, they raised the war cry and all was lost. From the moment that the padre arrived he knew that the rebels had urged upon the others to kill the priests; and in the ten months during which the uprising was delayed, and whilst he was aware that the rebellion was daily becoming more serious, he might have avoided death justifiably by escaping from the incessant danger in which he was placed. But his life was Christ, and to die was to be his reward. Life and death he regarded as equally good for his soul. For, if his life should be spared in the revolt of the Indians, with his life would he pay the debt he owed to the Lord; if he should die therein, in this way would he go to his reward, shedding his sacrificial blood; so he neither feared death nor sought to save his life. If the Master should not permit them to kill him, his whole life was to be employed in his apostolic ministry and in preaching the Gospel; if it were His holy will that he should lose his life, he would go straight to glory (*de repente lograria verle en la Gloria*), and be freed from all the calamities of this life. . .

The remainder of Arricivita's eulogy proceeds in similar vein, with merely a reference to the tragedy of July 17-19, 1781, in which Garcés and three other priests were slain, together with almost all the other white men of the two mission-colonies which had been established on the Colorado, one at Yuma, and the other a few miles lower down. For details of the massacre we turn to Arricivita's chap. ix. of the same Fourth Book, entitled: Furiosa rebelion de los Yumas: matan á los quatro Padres, Soldados y Pobladores, y cautivan á sus hijos y mugeres. This I will give in part, in so far as relates to the actual event. But first for some of the circumstances leading up to the catastrophe which so soon followed upon the founding of these two settlements, mainly derived from Arricivita's two preceding chapters.

The missions of Pimeria Alta were in a sad state in 1776; but the viceroy, Bucareli, had made arrangements for the founding of missions on the Gila and Colorado, under the protection of the presidios of Buena Vista and Horcasitas, which were to be transferred to those rivers. It was to this end that during Anza's expedition of 1775-76 Garcés and his companion Eisarc were left on the Colorado to try the temper of the natives for the catechism and vassalage of the king. When Anza was again on the Colorado, in May, 1776, he found Eisarc well fixed at Yuma, but could learn nothing of Garcés—very naturally, as the latter was just then afar in California. Anza returned to Horcasitas June 1, 1776. He was accompanied by Eisarc, who drops out of the story at this point; and also by the Yuma chief, one Captain Palma, together with a brother of his, one Captain Pablo, a son of the latter, and a Cajuenche Indian. These four Indians Anza took on to the City of Mexico, where they were handsomely entertained, etc., as elsewhere narrated. Palma in particular was so impressed that he sought holy baptism and received it under the name of San Salvador; and he also begged that padres might be sent to his nation to instruct them in Christian doctrine. Bucareli appears to have been not less pleased with Palma's unequivocal evidences of sincerity, and all things seemed highly promising.

Garcés was still off on his peregrinations, not returning to Bac till Sept. 17, 1776, and being unable to send to His Excellency the desired reports, including ing his diary and Font's map, till January, 1777. He favored the project of establishing the new missions, but it was brought to a standstill by some new arrangements the King of Spain had ordered for the government of the Provincias Internas, by the creation of a comandante general independent of the viceroy. Don Teodoro de Croix received this appointment, and affairs of the provinces passed into the hands of new officials who were ignorant in the most important particulars.

Palma was still in Mexico when the new commanding general arrived. Anza was soon appointed governor of New Mexico, and thus the services of this sagacious and experienced officer were lost to the particular matter with which we are here concerned. Bucareli commended Palma to Croix, and some understanding between the viceroy and the new general was reached, whereby Croix gave Palma his word that he would soon arrange for padres and other Spaniards to settle among the Yumas, and made some other promises which afterward gave the padres much trouble. Whereupon Palma departed much pleased, as already said.

Among the diaries and other documents, there was delivered, by order of His Excellency, to the commanding general a letter of Garcés'.[4] To this the general replied from Mexico in March, 1777, saying that he ordered the commandant of Monterey to treat kindly any Indians who might come to those establishments from the Rio Colorado. The treatment which had been ordered in such cases was a matter which had moved Garcés to protest, and excited fears amply justified by the event; for it seems to have been one of the factors in the insurrection of the Yumas and the dreadful massacre in which it ended. The commanding general also said in his reply that as to the projected transfer of the garrisons of Buena Vista and Horcasitas to the Colorado and Gila he would see about that. By this letter Garcés first learned of the promotion of Croix to be commanding general, and sent him his compliments, together with Font's map of the expedition of 1775-76, when Font went as far as San Francisco and Garcés to the Moquis. To all of this the commanding general replied with thanks, manifesting a great desire to proceed to Sonora, to carry into effect his plan of going in person to the Colorado and thence to Monterey. This would have been of great advantage to those provinces and to all the nations who were to be subjugated; but though Croix so proposed, God so disposed that he was long detained by sickness at Chihuahua.

---

[4] Evidently relating to his disagreeable experiences with the commanding officer of Monterey, as fully set forth in his Diary at date of Mar. 24, 1776, which see, beyond.

By this time, early in 1777, the King of Spain had received word of Palma's visit to Mexico, and seen the memorial in which the latter begged to be baptized, as well as the reports of the expeditions of 1775-76. By letter dated Feb. 14, 1777, he ordered Croix to concede to Palma the promised missions and presidios, together with other things which, had they been attended to, would have facilitated the reduction of so great a gentilism, and missions could have been founded with that solidarity so necessary in those remote and risky regions. The king was also graciously pleased to cause to be conveyed to Garcés the royal approbation of his peregrinations of 1775-76, etc., as appears by a letter Garcés received, dated Mexico, Aug. 9, 1777.

It was in March, 1778, that Palma, seeing no sign of fulfillment of the promises which had been made to him, went to Altar to find out what was the matter. The officer in command there was much embarrassed at Palma's importunities, but put him off by saying that the commanding general was disposed to go to the Colorado with priests and other Spaniards, but meanwhile was visiting some of the eastern presidios, on his return from which he would come to found missions and presidios on the Colorado. This quieted the anxiety of Palma, who went home to await the fulfillment of these promises. Time passed, the year ended, nothing was done, and Palma's people taunted him, saying that he had been stuffed with lies. Being thus put to the blush, he made another journey to Altar, whose captain, Don Pedro Tueros, was then in command at Horcasitas. Palma also went there, and represented to the captain the reasons for his repeated importunities. The captain reported the whole case to the commanding general, who was still in Chihuahua. The king's order, which Croix had received, the promises made to Palma, and the reasonableness of the latter's insistence, determined the general to send padres to Yuma. On Feb. 5, 1779, he wrote to the president of missions, and also to Garcés, informing them of Palma's representations; in consequence of which it was resolved that Garcés, accompanied by another religious, should soon go to the Colorado to console the Yumas, and begin the catechism and baptism of those infidels.

At the same time the Sonoran authorities were ordered to furnish the necessary outfit of men and supplies. The padre presidente explored the mind of Padre Fray Juan Diaz, who had already been on the Colorado in 1774 with Anza and Garcés, and this priest was selected to accompany Garcés on the new enterprise. The political governor, Don Pedro Corbalan, soon issued the necessary warrant. The military governor, Don Pedro Tueros, could not refrain from showing lukewarmness in detailing an escort, as his soldiers were few for the defense of the province, in which the Indians were rebellious, committing robberies and bloody outrages on every hand; however, he answered the letter in which he was asked for an ample escort by saying that Garcés might pick out the smallest number of soldiers that would answer the purpose, as he could get along better with a few good ones than with many bad ones; but he did not designate a certain number for the journey. This reserve was to justify his conduct, under the circumstances that there had arrived at the Presidio de Altar four Yumas, with the complaint that four Papagos had killed one of the former nation; whence it was feared that the expedition would find it difficult to pass through one of these nations to the other.

This whole enterprise was a weighty matter requiring serious consideration; and from the first conference which the president of missions had with Padres Diaz and Garcés concerning the order of the general for them to go to the Colorado, natural reason urged that the padres should be ready to start as soon as the required outfit could be secured, but not before. The experienced padres realized the difficulties and dangers of establishing so distant a mission; at the same time they wished no delay, and were confident that the desired presidio would soon be established. But the discussion of ways and means was a long, tedious one, reaching the viceroy and the college. Arricivita devotes several columns to the subject, going into details hardly to be followed in the present slight sketch.

The intended transfer of the forces from Buena Vista and Horcasitas was finally vetoed, in view of disturbances on all hands in Sonora. Garcés was content to ask for no more than 15 soldiers and a sergeant, whom he selected from the presidios of Tucson and Altar; but, in fact, 12 were all he received. The period from February through July, 1779, was consumed in preparations for the journey, and on Aug. 1 Garcés, with Diaz and their slender retinue, started for their destination via Sonoita, which place they reached in a few days, and left on the 10th for the Colorado, but were obliged to return for lack of water. Diaz remained while Garcés started again to travel light, with two soldiers and one other. He reached Yuma late in the month, and on Sept. 3 sent the soldiers back to Diaz with information of the trouble he was already having through turbulency and dissensions among the Yumas and Jalchedunes. The soldiers reached Diaz at Sonoita, and at the same time a Papago reported that some of his nation had revolted and were disposed to attack the expedition en route; whereupon the handful of men with Diaz were inclined to abscond. The case reached the higher authorities, and the padres were advised to postpone further operations. But they were firm, and in fact under orders of the commanding general to persevere.

Diaz succeeded in joining Garcés at Yuma on Oct. 2, with perhaps a dozen men. There was trouble from the start, owing to the wide discrepancy between what Palma's people had been led to expect in the way of lavish gifts, and the beggarly kit which a couple of seedy friars had to divide among so many —to say nothing of the indigence of the priests and soldiers themselves, who almost lacked means of subsistence. Early in November Garcés reported their necessitous condition. On the 3d the commanding general, who had recovered his health, arrived at Arizpe, where he received Garcés' letter, and soon afterward Diaz reported to him in person. At this juncture Padre Fray Juan Antonio Barraneche (or Barrenche) was sent to Garcés' assistance.

During that winter of discontent, with Palma's disaffection, many Indians in revolt, and everything hanging by the eyelids, much red tape was wound about the usual circumlocution; but it was finally determined to establish two foundations on the Colorado, formal orders for which were issued Mar. 20, 1780. The scheme was a novel one—one so novel that Arricivita styles its author, Croix, "an artificer of death" (*artifice de morir*). The plan was for neither a presidio, a mission, nor a pueblo, each of which was intelligible to a Spaniard, but a mongrel affair nobody could manage, combining features of all three such establishments; and there were to be two such mongrels. For the first of these were detailed a corporal, nine soldiers, ten colonists, and six laborers; for the second, a corporal, eight soldiers, ten colonists, and six laborers. Such were the two presidio-pueblo-missions established on the Colorado; the one at Puerto de la Purísima Concepcion, identical in site with modern Fort Yuma, and the other perhaps eight miles lower down the river, at a place called San Pedro y San Pablo de Bicuñer, near the site of modern Fort Defiance (Pilot Knob). The logic of events showed the whole business to be criminal stupidity, ending in a bloody catastrophe.

The victims of this *nuevo modo de conquistar*, devised by *politicos arbitristas* unversed in such affairs, against the protests of the priests and the warnings of such an experienced officer as Anza, arrived at their appointed posts in the autumn of 1780. Arricivita's census is: 20 families of settlers or colonists; 12 of laborers, and 21 of soldiers; "all brought their wives and plenty of children." One padre, Matías Moreno, had meanwhile been added to the three already mentioned; the non-commissioned officers were

Ensign Santiago de las Islas, in whose charge the people came; Sergeant José (or Juan) de la Vega; Corporal Juan Miguel Palomino; and Corporal Pascual Rivera. To make bad matters worse, if possible, with the Indians, the little horde of invaders proceeded coolly to appropriate the best lands of the Yumas, whose milpas their horses and cattle soon damaged or destroyed. No wonder the savage aboriginal proprietors of this demesne were ripe for treason, stratagem, and spoils by the time such characteristically Spanish arrangements for the temporalities had been completed, with Padres Garcés and Barraneche in charge of the spiritualities at Concepcion, while Padres Juan Diaz and Matías Moreno undertook the cure of inflamed souls at Bicuñer.

This brings us back to Arricivita's ninth chapter, on the "furious rebellion of the Yumas," with which we started roundabout the sad story.. We may imagine how the winter of their discontent on both sides wore on, but have no consecutive record of the rest of 1780 and the early months of 1781. But in June there arrived at Yuma Captain Fernando Xavier de Rivera y Moncada, then lieutenant governor of Lower California, who had before been commandant of the new establishments of Monterey, having come into that country in 1769. At this time he was from Sonora, with some soldiers and about 40 recruits for the Californian settlements. Some of his people he sent back to Sonora, others he sent on to California, whilst he remained to his death with about a dozen men, in camp at the mouth of the Gila, directly opposite Concepcion (Yuma). Thus the outraged and outrageous Yumas had three separate groups of Spaniards to massacre.

The storm burst on Tuesday, July 17, 1781. At Concepcion Garcés was saying mass to some of the people, mostly women, the rest of the settlers being scattered in the fields, excepting Ensign Islas and Corporal Baylon, the latter being on guard. Garcés had just passed from the missal to the gospel of the day when a tumult arose, and the Indians besieged the church and other houses. Service was instantly suspended. Islas, who was in command, had hardly called to arms when he was clubbed to death and his body thrown in the river. Both padres survived the first outbreak, whilst the Indians were butchering right and left, and looting the houses; both heard confessions and administered the sacraments to some in the agony of death. The day passed, and *fué 'la noche triste'* at Concepcion. More effectual still was the havoc wrought that same day at Bicuñer, the attack upon which had been simultaneous. There, Padres Diaz and Moreno were preparing to say mass and administer the viaticum when they were set upon furiously and both killed, as were Sergeant Vega and most of the soldiers, in the first onslaught. Only five men survived this day at Bicuñer, all the women and children were made captives, and the settlement was entirely destroyed. At Concepcion, where hostilities seem to have been suspended on the 17th after the first outrages, the assault was renewed on the afternoon of the 18th, about three o'clock, when the savages returned from their attack upon Rivera's camp across the river, where the massacre had been complete—not a man escaped death. Concepcion was sacked and burned, and most of the men killed; but both priests were still spared, having found refuge with some of the Indians who remained their friends. It is related that Palma himself favored them, saying they were good men, who had done no harm, and should not be put to death. But on the 19th, at the instigation of a certain Nifora Indian, "vile slave and infamous apostate," who cried out, "If these are left alive, all is lost—they are the worst of all!" both Garcés and Barraneche were beaten to death.

Thus began in blunder and ended in blood, after enduring a few months, the only missions there ever were upon the Colorado. All four of the priests received the crown of martyrdom. The victims of the massacre were nearly or about 50 in number. Among the names of 20 soldiers and 14 settlers which have reached us, there were the following survivors: José Reyes Pacheco, Pedro Solares, Miguel Antonio Romero, soldiers; Matias de Castro, Juan José Miranda, José Ignacio Bengachea, José Urrea, settlers. Two of the most remarkable features of the catastrophe are, that the victims were all, or nearly all, clubbed to death; and that all the women and children were spared—captured and enslaved, but not outraged. I do not know where to find the exact parallel of this in the annals of Indian massacre.

The fame of so atrocious an affair flew on the wings of the four winds and soon reached the Spanish authorities. Meanwhile, Ensign Limon, Rivera y Moncada's officer, who had escorted some of the latter's people to San Gabriel, returned from his trip with nine men, on Aug. 21st. He was attacked and repulsed with some loss, and hastened back with the news to San Gabriel, whence Governor Neve sent him by a different route with a report to Croix dated Sept. 1st. In the other direction word was carried by the Pimas to Tucson, and by one of the survivors to Altar, reaching Croix in August. An expedition was soon on foot for the scene of the disaster, for the special purpose, it would seem, of recovering the bodies of the four priests; but punishment of the rebel apostates, and ransom of the captives, were among its objects.

There is no need here to protract the dismal story, either of operations in the field or of the long legal depositions which were taken and official reports which were made. The remains of the four martyrs were recovered, and finally laid to rest forever in one coffin in the church at Tubutama. But a few words concerning Garcés' fellow laborers in so sadly watered a vineyard of the Lord may not be out of place. Barraneche, whose first work as a missionary ended at his death at the early age of 32 years, was born in 1749 in the town of Lacazor, bishopric of Pamplona, and Kingdom of Navarre. He was in Cuba as a child, joined the Franciscans in 1768, and came to the college of Querétaro in 1773. Moreno's life as a missionary also began on the scene of his death. He was the son of Matias Moreno and María Catalina Gil, born at Almarza, in the jurisdiction of Soria and bishopric of Osma, and baptized May 24, 1744; he took his holy orders in 1762, and came to Mexico in 1769. Diaz was a native of Alaxar in the bishopric of Seville, born in May, 1736. His real name was not Diaz, as he was son of Juan Marcelo and Feliciana Basquez, named Alonzo Diaz at his confirmation, and Juan Marcelo Diaz on taking holy orders. He came to the college of Querétaro in 1763; in 1768 he was assigned to the mission of Caborca in Pimeria Alta, and in 1774 was with Garcés on Anza's expedition to San Gabriel.

THE FOUR ENTRADAS OF GARCÉS.

(1768-74.)

In order to inform the reader fully of the conditions under which Garcés undertook the journey of 1775-76 which forms the body of the present work, it will be well to glance at his previous entradas of 1768, 1770, 1771, and 1774. I derive the following data mainly from Arricivita's Crónica, which will also be found digested in Bancroft's Ariz. and N. M.

I. GARCÉS' FIRST ENTRADA, TO THE GILA, 1768.

Arricivita's Chronicle, Mexico, 1792, devotes capitulo xiii, pp. 394-399, to the Entrada de los Misioneros en Sonora, these Franciscans having left San Blas Jan. 20 and reached Guaymas May 9, 1768. His next chapter, pp. 400-404, treats of the Nuevos Trabajos de los Misioneros, etc., and here we find the record of Garcés' First Entrada, pp. 403, 404, of which I give a brief summary:

At this time Garcés was the minister of San Xavier del Bac, bent on reaping a crop of souls for God and the King of Spain. He had sent messages to rancherias of the gentiles, was determined to visit them, and four Indians came to guide him. Hearing of this, a military officer sought to stop him, with the information that the Papagos, through whose lands Garcés was to pass, had revolted. But the padre well knew this was a false manifest, and so left Bac on Aug. 29, 1768, with only one Indian of his mission and the four already said. He traveled about 80 leagues west, north, and southeast, among many Papago rancherias, including a very large one on the Gila. This is about all we know of the journey; for the chronicler's chapter is mostly theological. Garcés appears to have been back in his mission of Bac by October, and fell sick with what is called an apoplexy. Nevertheless, the report of the entrada of the missionary soon spread through all the rancherias of the gentiles who lived on the Gila; and, attracted by the sweet savor (*bien olor*) of Christ, whose faith and gospel Garcés had announced, they were all rejoiced, especially at the prospect that he would come again to visit them.

2. GARCÉS' SECOND ENTRADA, TO THE GILA, 1770.

But various things, including Apaches and Seris, delayed Garcés' return till late in 1770. We have a fuller account of this entrada in Arricivita, pp. 416, 417, in substance as follows:

In October of this year there was an epidemic of measles, fever, and diarrheas throughout the province, of which diseases many died. A married woman fled from Bac; the Pimas Gileños sent word to Garcés that a converted Indian was very sick; and so, to retake the first, help the second, and comfort everybody, Garcés left Bac Oct. 18, equipped only with charity and apostolic zeal, intending to return in five days. Traveling northwest, across a valley different from those of the Papagos, he inspected the rancherias of Cuitoat, Oapars, and Tubasa, some of whose inhabitants were at his mission, though he could not gather them all in, through their fear of speedy death. On the 19th he went westward in search of the sick man, among various rancherias, including Aquitun; on one roundabout he found a gentile, very old and very sick, whom he catechised and baptized with great gusto, and who presently died. On the 20th he reached the Gila, where the natives of Pitac received him joyfully, and there he baptized the sick children who were in greatest danger. 21st, he reached the spot where he had been in 1768, and where the governor assured him that they all wanted a padre to teach them; here he baptized 22, and was almost detained by force, but managed to break away, and went on down river where there were good crops and many rancherias, among them one on the other side named Napeut. The padre said mass, baptized two aggravated cases of sickness, saw many people and good land, and was told that he was near the Opas, a nation who spoke the language of the Yumas and Cocomaricopas. Leaving the Indians who had accompanied him, he set out with only one of those of the Gila, who had a little pinole and jerked meat, and passing the pueblo of Sutaquison, and another large one lower down, he reached a saline on the 23d; whence traveling northwest he arrived that night at the Opas whom he sought. The padre, being already pretty well up in Pima, talked to them in that idiom; they received him very well, and he could preach to them, because there were among them some old individuals who understood it. These Indians were quite curious, especially about Garcés' dress, asking him whether he was a man or a woman, whether he was married or single, and other impertinent questions. These people and others of the same language extend along the Gila and Colorado, and also along the rivers Azul, Verde, Salado, and others which enter the Colorado; on which latter there are other nations who come down to trade with those said.

Thinking of his mission of Bac, left without a minister, Garcés inspected no more rancherias on the Gila, from which he turned away southward through a sierra which bordered on the river. On the afternoon of a day not said he halted in a hut (*xacal*) where there seemed to be but few people, though more appeared that night. They gave him various reports through a Piman, who told him that in a pueblo of Opas there had been seen whites who had come to barter through Moquis. On the 28th he passed by various rancherias, accompanied by many men and boys, and halted in the house of a Pima of Sutaquison. There he saw six Indians from the Rio Colorado, whom he treated to pinole, and determined to keep on eastward, sick at heart (*arrancándosele el corazon*) to leave those people, some of whom were dying of measles, and only baptizing one child whom he found almost dead. After three days [Oct. 29-31] through a deserted region he arrived at the already known Papago rancherias, where he was told that most of the children and the old woman he had baptized were dead.

Ninety leagues was the good padre's estimate of this journey, and he highly praised the fidelity of the only Indian who accompanied him the whole way. All those nations wondered at his coming to visit them otherwise unattended, and at discovering that he sought only to save their souls, and to preach heaven and hell to them, and explain to them God, of whom they were totally ignorant; for though they had some notion of a supreme power, said to be invoked at sowing-time, or when they fell sick, he felt sure that their gods were the sun and moon, even in the rancherias most immediate to missions.

Of all this excursion and apostolic foray did Padre Garcés make a report and a prolix diary for the padre guardian and venerable elders in council, who placed it in the hands of Padre Presidente Fray Mariano. The report went its way through official channels to the Señor Visitador Don José de Galvez, who approved it; and the upshot of much deliberation over plans for the founding of missions on the Gila was Garcés' next entrada.

3. GARCÉS' THIRD ENTRADA, TO THE GILA AND COLORADO, 1771.

"Nuevo Viage que hizo el Padre Garzés á los rios Colorado y Gila en el año siguente de setenta y uno" is the title of Arricivita's chap. xvii, pp. 418-426. It opens with reference to the difficulties and dangers of this entrada, including a long extract from Garcés' own diary on the subject.

Packing on horseback the apparatus for saying mass, and accompanied by a very respectable Papago, Garcés left San Xavier del Bac Aug. 8, 1771. Holding westward he visited various rancherias, preached the gospel, and baptized those who needed it in their extremities—as for example, on the 11th, a woman who seemed to be more than a hundred years old, whom he catechised to her great relief. On the 12th he was at the pueblo of Ati; on the 15th, at a place called Cubac, where he preached, but had trouble through the infidelity of the interpreter. On the 16th he announced to the governor of Sonoi [Sonoita] his intention of going to the Yumas, and begged for guides; but that night, in the council or junta which he convened to propound to them Catholic truth and ineffable mysteries, the old men raised such insuperable objections that, if the governor had not been so good, and the padre so inflexible, the scheme would have miscarried. He continued westward until he could go no further for want of water, and consequently turned by way of the volcano of Santa Clara toward the Gila, which river was reached on the 22d, at an uninhabited place where there were such fine cottonwoods that the water was hidden from view. At a little distance was discovered another running river, conjectured to be the Rio Azul, a branch of the Gila. After traveling all day, a little before sundown Garcés' party were discovered by some Indians named Noraguas, who lived on the other side of the river, and the padre wished to pass the night with them; but the Piman guides turned back, telling him that those were not good people, for they would steal all they could if he stayed with them. On the

23d many persons came across the river to see the padre, and there was another discussion of his intention to proceed to the Yumas, against which all sorts of objections were urged by the governor of the Pimas: it was very far; they were not friendly; the road was risky on account of the Quiquimas; those Yumas knew nobody, and would take their scalps, etc. Thereupon the governor called his people together, and that night they sang and danced till daylight. All this was simply to detain the padre; but for two days he persisted in seeking the Colorado. No such river was found; the governor told him that thenceforward there were no good people, and went back to his rancheria. The Indian guides, persuaded by the other Pimas, refused to follow the padre. He delayed a day in hope of guides from Sonoitac; but none appeared, and he went on with some nine young fellows, as well as he could, on the way down to the Yumas, till they dared to go no further. He kept on alone all day, thinking it could not be much further, met with difficulties, and retraced his steps. He was again dissuaded by the Pimas, but was firm in his resolve, and as no Sonoitac guides appeared, he once more set forth alone. Traveling southwest for two days, on the 30th his horse mired down twice, and he found himself in such a fix that he was obliged to return to the rancherias. This was on or about Sept. 1.

On the 8th, having procured a guide and baptized an adult and a child in articulo mortis, he set forth with some preparation for the journey; but the Indian purposely broke the calabash of water, and said they could not proceed without it. The padre said they could keep near the Gila; but at noon the guide took a horse and started back, expecting that the padre, finding himself alone, would do the same. Not so, however; for Garcés continued for two days, and finding some tracks, with great difficulty reached the people who live in the woods or among the lagunas along the river. Great was their wonder to see him alone, and equal were the concourse and the courtesy with which they supplied him with all that they had. He passed on among various rancherias and many people. On the 12th he saw other rancherias, whose inhabitants were sorry that he would not stay with them, and the padre was grieved to see their affliction, many having been wounded and having had their houses burned, in a cruel assault their opponents the Quiquimas had made upon them. But having no fear of the Quiquimas, feeling sure he could recommend himself to these Indians as well as to others, he proceeded, and slept that night very close to the river. Next day, the 13th, he followed a trail and saw smoke on the other bank; but being unable to cross he continued down river westward, nearly to the junction of the Gila with the Colorado, till the lagunas and tulares prevented his reaching that point, and he turned southward.

At this date Garcés was in the vicinity of Yuma, for the first time in his life. His course down the Gila is easy to trail as a whole, but not in detail. Now that he turns south, we have more difficulty in tracing his movements from the imperfect and somewhat confusing record in Arricivita.

On the 14th, having passed a handsome plain, he found some brackish pools, and being unable to reach the Colorado, on account of the lagunas, he entered upon an extended strand. Here, going somewhat eastward in search of water, he found nothing but some skulls and skeletons of Indians; and seeing that neither water, nor grass, nor seeds, nor *quelites* were to be found, he turned northward, having traveled most of the night, and at dawn sought to rest a while; whereupon his horse ran away with the saddle on. Being now unable to return the way he had come, he thought best to go westward, and thus came upon a great river which seemed to him larger than the Gila, though he thought it smaller than the Colorado. Here in dismay he knew not which way to turn, for there was nothing to eat on that bank of the river except a certain herb resembling hemp; so he resolved to turn to the right-about, without looking for his horse, which he gave up for lost. Passing by lagunas and tulares all day of the 15th, he found his horse, which had come by a different route through the tulares and mud puddles.

On the 16th he concluded that he could reach the mouth of the river on a direct south course, and find the Quiquimas. At a matter of two leagues he found a melon patch, and having refreshed himself, there arrived fourteen armed Indians, surprised to see the padre. By signs they asked him whence he came and where he was going. Then they gave him to understand that the Quiquimas were their enemies; that if he would go with them they would give him something to eat; and they presently offered him some fish. Having turned back with them, he found 35 Yumas fishing; he dined with them, and says in his diary that one could learn humanity, politeness, and attention from these Indians; they joyfully took him to their village, and were at the trouble to make two rafts to cross him over the river; they also entertained him with singing and dancing in such fashion that he got no sleep, for they kept it up till morning.

On the 17th none of them were willing to go further down river with him, and he could only persuade one old man to accompany him to the junction of the rivers. They started, but something happened which made the old man desert, and the padre, after floundering about on the 18th, in the marshes and puddles, returned on the 19th to the rancheria he had left, where the Indians came in troops to see him.

It would scarcely be profitable, even were it possible, to trace Garcés' wanderings west of the Colorado and below the Gila. They were very devious, through the fitful refusals of Indians to take him where he wished to go, and his own inability to travel alone. He seems constantly turning about, gives few distances, and is loose in his compass points; nor do I find him once at an identifiable locality. He seems not to have continued among the Yumas only, for he speaks of various others nations, including two called Niforas and Macueques. He also speaks of hearing from the Yumas of the padres of San Diego and of New Mexico. On the 22d he was at some rancherias where he heard the sweet names of Jesus and Mary pronounced Mensus and Marria, usually with the word Azan added to the first of these names; he made the Indians the sign of the cross, and they did the same. This seems to be a reminiscence of Kino, who was among these Indians nearly three-quarters of a century before Garcés. On the 28th Garcés appears to have been near the mouth of the river, or at any rate near tide-water; for at dawn next day he discovered the Sierra Madre, and saw "a very large gap or opening in the mountains, which he thought was the entrance of the Rio Colorado into the sea." Exactly how far down river he pushed will probably never be known; but in his Diary of Dec. 20, 1775 (see the date, beyond), he speaks of a place he called Rancheria de las Llagas in 1771, when he was there, the same being, he was convinced, the last rancheria down river, not now identifiable with any known spot. When and where on his return he recrossed the Colorado from west to east is not clear. On the 7th of October we find him bearing eastward to seek the Gila. He was detained until the 12th by funeral ceremonies among the Yumas, eleven of whom had been killed in a fight with the Cocomaricopas and Pimas Gileños.

Oct. 12, the Indians offered to take the padre in four days' journey to the Indians of Cujant or to Zúñiga, and he chose the former direct route to Sonoitac. On the 13th, the text says, he recrossed (*repasó*) the Gila on a raft—a statement not clear, as we do not see how he could recross a river he had never once crossed, nor do we know how he can be supposed to have been anywhere north of the Gila; perhaps this statement should be taken to indicate his otherwise unsaid crossing of the Colorado from west to east, at the place where he had first crossed it, not far below the mouth of the Gila. However this may be, we find him on the 15th on the usual route to

Caborca (*por las jornadas acostumbradas se dirigió el Padre á Caborca*). His diary ends Oct. 27, in the following pleasant manner:

"Poco á poco comiendo pitahallas regaladísimas, llegué á Caborca ceñido con el pañuelo de narizes, pues habiéndose acabado la reata, hube de valerme del cordon, y este como viejo tambien se acabó: quando salí al viage estaba malo y se me hinchaban las piernas, y pensaba en salir á curarme, y ahora estoy hasta la presente, gracias á Dios, sin novedad chica ni grande, y así aunque no hubiera otro motivo, basta para estos viages el ser proficuos para vivir en San Xavier."

4. GARCÉS' FOURTH ENTRADA, TO THE GILA, COLORADO, AND MISSION OF SAN GABRIEL IN CALIFORNIA, 1774.

(*With Padre Juan Diaz, under Capitan J. B. de Anza.*)

Arricivita's Libro Quarto, Capítulo Primero, pp. 450-456, entitled Expedicion que se mandó hacer para la comunicacion de la Sonora con los nuevos establecimientos de Monterey, records this notable entrada at some length. The best account is said to be Anza's own MS., entitled Descubrimiento de Sonora á Californias, año de 1774.

Anza's expedition, consisting of himself, Garcés, and Diaz, an Indian guide named Sebastian, 34 men in all, with 65 cattle and 140 horses, left the Presidio de Tubac Jan. 8, 1774. By way of Caborca the journey continued to the mission de San Marcelo de Sonoytac on the 28th. Arricivita is very curt along here, but from other sources the route can be traced pretty closely. From Tubac one league to ford of San Ignacio, Jan. 8th; valley of Arivac, 9th; Agua Escondida, 10th; to Saric, 13th; La Estancia, 14th; Ati, 15th; Oquitoa, 16th; Presidio de Altar, 17th; Pitic, 19th; and Caborca next day. Then, to a place named San Ildefonso at this date, 22d; Aribaipa or San Eduardo, 23d; San Juan de Mata, a water pool, 24th; Quitobac or San Luis Bacapa, a rancheria, 26th; whence to Sonoita on the 28th. Greater than before was the difficulty with which the party kept on through grassless and waterless deserts past places two of which were Carrizal and Purificacion, till Feb. 5, when they reached a scanty aguage hidden in a profound arroyo, and hence called Agua Escondida, duplicating a name. They there found a Papago who had come from the Yumas. From him they learned of natives who were wavering in their allegiance to the Yuman captain Palma, unfriendly toward the whites, and disposed to loot the whole outfit.

This news gave them great uneasiness, and they determined to dispatch the Papago with a message to

Palma, to see what could be done to pacify the malcontents. He returned in a day or two, accompanied by some Papagos and Yumas, with demonstrations of joy, minimizing the former report, and saying that the only reason why Palma himself did not come was his absence from home. Anza and the padres, seeing that they were welcome to these Indians and others that continually arrived, determined to halt not till they reached the Gila and camped on its banks. Palma soon arrived, with many others of his nation, mostly on horseback; all were jubilant over the coming of the Spanish captain and priests. Palma continued to give such unequivocal proofs of ability and loyalty that Anza confirmed his chieftainship and hung about his neck a silver medal with a bust of his Catholic majesty, advising him to be an obedient vassal of the king, and faithful to the allegiance he owed to the Spaniards.

In the place where the expedition was on Feb. 7, the Gila joined a small arm of the Colorado given off a few leagues higher up, thus forming an island large enough for the residence of Palma and a part of his Yumas. (This island is the one which became known as Isla de la Trinidad: practically the site of Kino's San Dionísio of 1700, and directly across the Colorado from the Mision de la Concepcion of 1780-81.) One day, apparently Feb. 8 (or two days, Feb.

8 and 9), the expedition crossed the united Gila and Colorado by a good though devious ford, guided and aided by the natives, and camped in the vicinity, where Anza took his geodetic observations. Here is the initial point of the entrada into California.

It is impossible to trace the route henceforth from Arricivita with requisite precision; but coupling the old chronicler's account with data derived from Anza's MS. diary, as digested in Bancroft's Hist. Cal. i, pp. 222, 223, we can follow the expedition approximately.

In three or four days, Feb. 10-12 or 9-13, the expedition went to or was at a place called Laguna de Santa Olaya, 9½ leagues about S. W., formed by the Colorado in times of overflow. The name appears to have been bestowed on this occasion. Palma went part way and then turned back, amidst tears and other emotions, because Santa Olaya belonged to the Cajuenches. Feb. 13 or 14, the expedition plunged into the desert beyond, only to be forced back to Santa Olaya on the 19th, and to remain there till Mar. 2. The interval was employed by the priests in their holy functions, and Garcés alone made a six days' tour among the rancherias, getting back to camp Mar. 1.

On the 2d, Anza left most of his baggage, horses, and cattle in charge of Palma, starting for the new establishments of Monterey with only the most necessary supplies. That day they traveled through Cajuenche rancherias, which Garcés had visited in 1771; they all cried Jesus Maria, and delivered up to Garcés four idols, three of which he smashed with great gusto, while the soldiers kept the other one. This day's camp was at a spot called Laguna del Predicador (Preacher's lagoon).

Mar. 3-5, westerly, with a sierra on the left, and over hills, to some waterholes called Pozos de San Eusebio. Mar. 6, to Santo Tomás, in the sierra. Mar. 7, 8, northerly, to Pozos de Santa Rosa de las Lajas (Wells of St. Rose of the Flat Rocks). At this point the expedition was supposed to have advanced 18 leagues in air line from Santa Olaya. Mar. 9, 10, north 11 leagues to a large cienega in the Cajuenche country, called San Sebastian Peregrino. Mar. 11, continuing along the same cienega. Mar. 12, six leagues westnorthwest to San Gregorio. Mar. 14, six leagues to Santa Catarina. Next day, apparently, six leagues northerly to Puerto de San Carlos, about where ended the widespread Cajuenche nation, and began another which on his former journey Garcés called los Danzarines, the Dancers, on account of the violent movements of the hands and feet they made when they talked. Mar. 16, 17, to Laguna de San Patricio, supposed to be eight leagues direct from Santa Catarina. Mar. 18, to Valle de San José, on a fine stream, observed as in lat. 33° 46′. Mar. 19, to Laguna de San Antonio de Bucareli. Mar. 20, to Rio de Santa Ana. Mar. 21, to Arroyo de los Osos, or de los Alisos, Bear or Alder gulch. Mar. 22, the expedition arrived at the Mision del Gloriosísimo Príncipe San Gabriel—that is, the still existent and well-known San Gabriel mission, in the vicinity of present Los Angeles, Cal. It was then taken to be 40 leagues from San Diego, and 120 from Monterey. The whole distance actually traveled from Caborca was set down at 240 leagues, reducible to about 200 by avoiding détours.

Having reached San Gabriel out of everything, Anza determined to travel light to Monterey, to replenish his outfit. At the same time the R. P. F. Junípero Serra, later on the most famous Californian missionary, arrived at San Gabriel from San Diego, where he left a religious with requisite instruments for geodesy; and Padre Diaz went there for him. Garcés, under orders received from Anza, left with an outfit for the Colorado, where he was to await the return of the expedition. He made this return trip in 12 days and a half (at dates not said, and without incident, except the discovery of some rascality of the Danzarines).

On May 1 Anza reached Monterey, which he left in three days with Padre Diaz; and traveling in Garcés' tracks for eight days, a distance supposed to be 80 leagues, they arrived at the junction of the Gila and Colorado, where they were received by Palma and his Yumas with grand jubilation and all possible obsequy. The Indians made a raft and ferried them over to the place where Garcés had his camp. There he found that the soldiers and muleteers who had been left to guard the convoy had fled to Caborca, having become panic-struck at a rumor that his party and himself had been massacred.

On May 15 Anza and Diaz resumed their march, accompanied by Garcés, until the 21st; and happily arrived at the Presidio de Tubac on the 26th. This is nearly all Arricivita has to say about it; but from other sources we trace their route briefly, as follows: Started up the south bank of the Gila, May 15; passed San Pascual, 17th; to first Cocomaricopa rancheria, called San Bernardino, 18th; continuing, passed through Upasoitac, or San Simon y Judas, 21st; to Piman rancheria of Sutaquison, 22d; to Tutiritucar (Uturituc, or San Juan Capistrano), 23d; to near Casas Grandes, 24th; turning south away from river, to Tucson, 25th; through Bac, to Tubac, 26th.

But Garcés, who had been specially charged by high authority to investigate the feasibility of opening communication between Monterey and New

Mexico, was left on the Gila without an escort—with nobody but one of Anza's servants. From the Pueblo de Oparsoitac, which had been named that of San Simon y Judas, he sought to reach the Yabipais or Niforas, but the Indians would not permit this, on account of existing hostilities. Two Jalchedunes of the Rio Colorado, informed of the affair, said that they were friends of the Yabipais, who went to pueblos where there were padres. So Garcés determined to go with these Jalchedunes to their lands; but Anza's servant took fright and Garcés left him in charge of the Pimas.

Confiding in divine providence and trusting to the good will of the Indians, Garcés traveled about 30 leagues to a large laguna inhabited by Jalchedunes. Further on among these Indians he saw very many of them, and large crops of wheat; he went to their confines, and named some Rancherias de San Antonio (as we are told beyond, at date of Aug. 6-8, 1776), but no further up the Colorado, for next came the Quilmurs, their cruel enemies. He sought what information he could regarding the Moquis, whom he was very anxious to visit; but finding it impossible to go there, he turned back with one Jalchedun chosen as his guide, who carried a pot of water on his head, in one hand a firebrand, and in the other a stick with which to stimulate the jaded horse; notwithstanding which impedimenta, whenever the padre needed it the Indian would make him a porridge of wheat flour, their only provision for the journey. In such plight he reached the Cocomaricopas, who passed him on to the Pimas Gileños. The latter had returned from a campaign against the Apaches, and their horses were worn out; so Garcés was detained among them for some days, for which he was consoled by finding them well inclined to christianism.

Garcés did not thence regain his mission of San Xavier del Bac by the route the expedition had taken, but by way of some wells by which in the driest season the route is practicable from the Gila. His long, arduous peregrination ended on July 10, 1774, when he entered his mission, having seen in all those territories, according to the prudent estimate he made of their population, about 24,000 gentiles.

The foregoing brings Garcés up to the date of his Fifth Entrada, 1775-76, which forms the subject of the work now before us.

DIARY OF GARCÉS.

1775-76.

CHAPTER I.

OFFICIALITIES AND OTHER PRELIMINARIES, TO OCTOBER 21, 1775.*

Diary kept by Padre Fray Francisco Garcés, son of the College of the Holy Cross of Querétaro,[1] on the journey that he made in the year 1775 [and 1776] by command of the Most Excellent Señor Don Fr. Antonio Maria Bucareli y Vrsua,[2] lieutenant-general, viceroy, governor, and captain-general of this New Spain, made known by his letter of 2d of January of the same year, determined in the council of war held at Mexico on the 28th of November of the preceding year, and likewise ordered by the Reverend Padre Fray Romualdo Cartagena, guardian of said college, by letter of 20th of January of '75, and by his successor the Reverend Padre Fray Diego Ximenez by letter of 17th of February of the same year; in which I am ordered, together with another religious, to join Lieutenant-Colonel Don Juan Bautista de Ansa[3] and the Reverend Padre Fray Pedro Font,[4] who go to the Puerto de San Francisco; and accompanying them to the Rio Colorado, there to wait their return with the companion that I may have with me; and in the meanwhile to examine the country, treat with the neighboring nations, and investigate the animus and adaptability (*el animo y disposicion*) of the natives for the catechism and vassalage of our sovereign.[5]

---

* The notes to this chapter are too long to be set on the pages where they belong. They will be found at the end of the chapter.

Preliminary Remarks.

This Diary is accompanied by a map, which P. F. Pedro Font has made with the greatest care, I being present to give him at least all those notes from the Diary which could serve to the end that it should prove correct. The observations, courses, and distances that I give, as far as Laguna de Santa Olalla,[6] are the same as those that are given in his diary and map by the said Font, in whose company I went to the Rio Colorado, and whom I met again at said laguna. The rest I made with the quadrant furnished me by said padre; but through my lack of practice they cannot come out exact. On the map is found the route marked with dots, with numbers of the jornadas for greater clearness; as also are conspicuous the nations, and the names thereof, with smaller dots, in order that may be better understood their location and the direction in which it extends; though it is true that this is to some extent based only on prudent estimates. Having seen such a variety of nations, their respective friendships, hostilities, and commerces, though not at one and the same time; and inasmuch as, through what was said to me in some of them and what I saw in others, I learned in one nation what had not been told me in another; it has seemed to me proper to give separate notices of them all at the end of the diary; and, by bringing together all the information acquired, to show the connection of every nation with all the others—which are the dominant ones, which are friendly, which are hostile; their commerces, and the extent of such; and finally, as a consequence of all this, to set forth the means which experience has shown me to be the best to the end of entirely subduing the Apache nation and of facilitating the communication of Monte-Rey and of New Mexico with these Provinces.[7]

Agreeably to orders, Padre Fray Tomás Eisarc[8] was designated as my companion. Foreseeing that I could not explain myself better to the Indians than with images of the kind most familiar to their sight, I determined to carry a linen print of Maria Santisima with Niño Dios in her arms, having on the other side the picture of a lost soul.[9] In all the entradas[10] I have made among the gentiles I have observed that the divine crucifix which I wore on my breast caused their devotion; they adored it, and confessed to me that it was a good thing, as will be seen beyond.

NOTES.

[1] Querétaro is at present a flourishing place, the capital of the Mexican State of the same name, situated in a valley some 110-120 miles N. W. of Mexico; it has a pop. approx. of 40,000. Among its notabilia are the numerous churches and other ecclesiastical edifices, manufacturing establishments, and especially the fine aqueduct built at the expense of the Marqués de Villar del Aquila, whose statue stands in one of the plazas. Late historical matters are principally two: The ratification here of peace between the United States and Mexico by the Guadalupe-Hidalgo treaty of 1848; and the capture and execution in 1867 of the estimable gentleman who would be emperor—for Maximilian took refuge here in February of that year, was captured on May 15 by the force under General Escobedo, and on June 19 was shot, with his Generals Miramon and Mejia, on the Cerro de las Campanas, or Hill of the Bells, overlooking the town.

But the history of Querétaro goes back to the ancient period when it was an Indian pueblo whose site had been captured by Spanish allies. It became a city in 1655, and has always been one of the soundest strongholds of Spanish ecclesiasticism in Mexico, since the foundation of the College of the Holy Cross, of which our author was a "son." The first official chronicle of this college was written by the R. P. Fr. Isidro Felis (or Felix) de Espinosa, and published at Mexico in the year 1746. It makes a folio volume, the major part of the title of which is:

Chronica Apostolica, y Seraphica de Todos los Colegios de Propaganda Fide de esta Nueva-España, de Missioneros Franciscanos Observantes: erigidos con autoridad pontifica, y regia, para la reformacion de los Fieles, y Conversion de los Gentiles. Consagrada a la Milagrosa Cruz de Piedra, que como titular se venera en su primer Colegio de Propaganda Fide de la muy Ilustre Ciudad de San-Tiago de Querétaro. The chronicler, Espinosa, who was ex-guardian, etc., of said college, brings his work down to date, in what was designed to be a Parte Primera of the whole history of the institution, and which proved in fact to be such when the story was resumed in a companion volume published in 1792, as Segunda Parte, by Arricivita, whom I have already so extensively quoted regarding the biography and previous entradas of Garcés. Espinosa's work is a faithful and valuable chronicle, in all material facts; but the author was an adept in the superstitious bigotry of his day and generation, and dwells with true sacerdotal unction upon the miraculous.

The record ostensibly begins with the year 1445, in Espinosa's first chapter, treating of the foundation of the Pueblo de Querétaro in the time of Mothecusuma Ilhuicamina, "first of that name." Chapter ii gives the origin of the most holy cross of stone with heavenly portents and other prodigies, and tells how it was planted on the very spot where it continued to be venerated from 1531 for the 210 years thence to 1741, when Espinosa wrote his book. Chapter iii establishes with greater firmness what went before, says who were the first ministers, describes Querétaro, etc. Chapter iv describes the cult of the most holy cross, and how it grew apace. In chapter v our miraculous stone cross manifests its strange tremors and other movements; in chapter vi we have the portent of the growth of the cross "experimentally authenticated." Chapter vii describes the miracles which the cross worked upon its devotees; and yet other miracles operated in Espinosa's own time are given in chapter viii. All of which is rather curious than edifying; but after thus setting his stage with the usual theological properties the author proceeds to sober history, which may be used with confidence that it is the best chronicle we possess regarding the foundation and early history of the Querétaronian College of the Holy Cross of which Garcés speaks.

It appears from Espinosa, and from other authorities accessible to me, or digested by Bancroft in Hist. Mex., ii, p. 539, *seq.*, that the 25th of July, 1522 or 1531, was the date of a battle which may be considered as opening the present case. In those years Aztec civilization extended little beyond the valley of Mexico, and wild tribes of the mountain fastnesses had the collective name of Chichimecos. The first expedition against them seems to have been undertaken not by the Spaniards, but by their Mexican and Otomí allies. We hear of a certain christianized Otomí cacique named in Spanish Nicolás de San Luis de Montañez, who with the cacique called Fernando de Tapia raised a force to fight the Chichimecos on that July 25. The enemy, to the alleged number of 25,000 (!), were posted on a hill near Querétaro, afterward called Cerrito Colorado or Sangre Mal; so they had the advantage of position, while the allies had the offsetting advantage of Spanish weapons of war. The heroics of the situation, just before the fight began, have come down to us in this shape: "O you brave men, perched on a hill," cries San Luis, "come down and fight, if you are not afraid!" "Very fine, no doubt, you renegade dogs of the Spaniards," says the Chichimec chieftain called Coyote; "lay aside your borrowed weapons and we will come down." "Unmannerly and beastly Chichimecos that you are," says San Luis, "we can whip you with no weapons. See! we lay them all aside; heap yours on them, put a guard over all, and come on!" So they went at it tooth and nail, like fighting cocks (*á puñetes y patadas y á mordidas como gallos*, says one chronicler). Well, the allies whipped the Chichimecos, some of the latter were baptized later by one Padre Juan Bautista, and thus the scene opens on Querétaro, in 1522 or 1531—the latter date being assigned by most chroniclers, the former by San Luis himself, who adds to his story the interesting statement that the sun stood still during the battle, and the Virgin Mary, the apostle St. James, and St. Francis appeared upon the scene. Espinosa draws it more mildly, being content with the apparition of St. James standing by the side of a bright red-and-white cross which was visible through the smoke of the arquebuses, and which decided the contest. The Chichimecos would seem to have experienced not only a reverse in war, but a speedy and total change of heart; nothing would satisfy them but the erection of a real cross of stone, to commemorate the apparition of the heavenly one on the very spot—a cross which should be everlasting (*para siempre jamas*). So a stone-cutter who happened to be conveniently at hand, and was appropriately named Juan de la Cruz, was miraculously guided to a quarry of red, white, and blue stone, out of which he shaped the required object, three varas tall, in the course of 24 hours. "Se formó de cinco piedras blancas y roxas milagrosamente halladas." Other miracles followed in due course; for example, San Luis says, "Parece que estábamos en la gloria, se apareció allí una nube blanca, tan hermosa, sombreando á la santa cruz y teniendola cuatro ángeles; luego el olor que olia tan hermoso que todos lo vimos que luego hizo milagro la santa cruz." While they were thus in glory with four angels in sight, and things were smelling so sweet, it would seem that some practical person had ground measured around the holy cross for a church, and made certain land grants; but we hear of no settlement of Querétaro till the time assigned for its becoming a town or city, about 1555, as above said. The cross not only enjoyed voluntary motion, but in due time grew exactly one vara bigger than it had been at first. "The first Franciscans in Querétaro lived in the small straw convent where the holy cross was subsequently kept; afterward they moved to the principal convent, which about 1566 was placed by the Santo Evangelio under the province of Michoacan," Bancroft, *l. c.* Espinosa's statement

to like effect is in these words, cap. iv, p. 11: "Consta de testimonios autenticos, que tengo á la vista, averse colocado nuestra Cruz, al tiempo de la Conquista de Queretaro: y que entonces se le formó Hermita de materiales campestres, y se hicieron Celdas pajizas para los Religiosos pocos que avia, y una vivienda contigua, que sirvió de Hospital para curacion de los Naturales. Este fue en aquellos principios el primer Convento, y la primera Iglesia que huvo en Queretaro para administrar los Santos Sacramẽtos; y podémos con razon affirmar aver sido la primitiva Parroquia, pues en ella se bautizaban, casaban, y enterrabañ los que se convirtieron del Gentilismo."

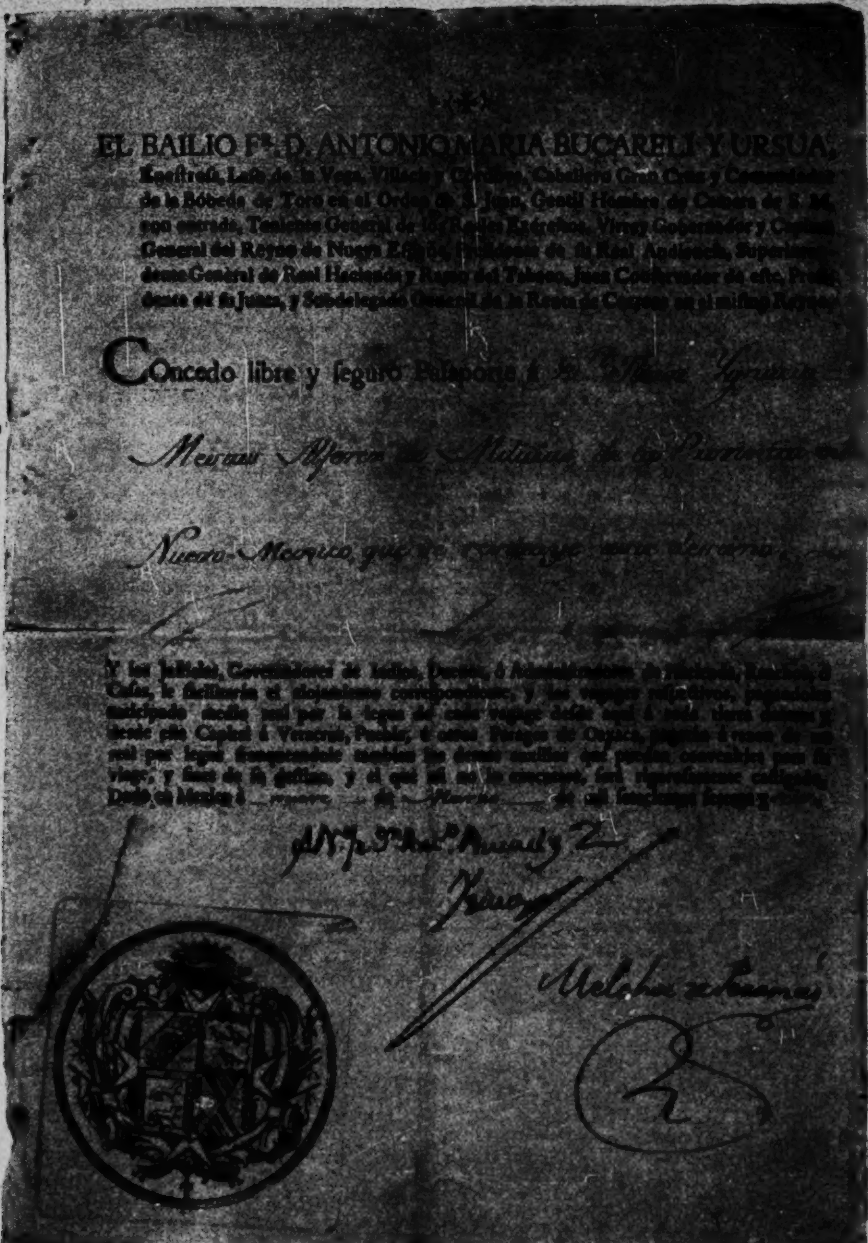
The name Querétaro is given as a Tarascan word meaning a game of ball, or a place where the game is played, and as equivalent in this sense to a Mexican word Taxco or Tlacho, also sometimes used as the name of the same settlement. On desiring Mr. Hodge to look up this matter, I am favored with the following: Siméon, Dict. de la Langue Nahuatl, gives, under *tlachocholoiltilistli*, "action de lancer, de jeter une balle." Under *chololistli* I find: "fuite, saut, chute, courant." Antonio Peñafiel, in his Nombres Geográficos de México, gives *Tlachco:* "En el juego de pelota," de *tlachtli* y *co*, que designa lugar. Dice el P. Baltasar de Medina en la Crónica de la Provincia de San Diego (fol. 250, año de 1682): 'El nombre de *Tlacho*, que es su propia voz, quiere decir: *jugadero de pelota;* entretenimiento que usaron con varias ceremonias los indios llamando al lugar donde jugaban *Tlachco*, como refiere Torquemada. No ha faltado quien juzgue que esta voz *Tasco* que prevalece hoy, es imposcion de los Españoles, con memoria de la que refiere Plinio, describiendo una tierra blanca, semejante á la arcilla, á propósito para formar de ella crisoles y hornazas: calidades de aquel suelo en algunas partes.' Siméon, above cited, gives under *Tlachtli:* "Jeu de balle, sorte de jeu de paume, disposé ordinairement dans une salle basse, longue et étroite. Une raie, que l'on nommait *tlecotl*, était tracée au milieu du jeu; on y faisait usage de balles en *ullin* ou caoutchouc." Regarding the word Querétaro Mr. Hodge notes the following in Orozco y Berra, Geografía de las Lenguas, 1864, p. 259: "En aquella sazon retornó Bocanegra con el religioso prometido: ambos fueron cordialmente recibidos, y otomíes y chichimecas fundaron la ciudad Querétaro, nombre que vino, de que en la primera visita de Hernan Perez, los tarascos que le acompañaban llamaron al lugar *Querendo* (peña), de donde derivó decir á la poblacion *Queréndaro* (pueblo de peña), y corrompido el vocablo se dijo *Querétaro*. Conni recibió en el bautismo el nombre de D. Hernando de Tapia, muriendo hácia el año de 1571: la relacion de prodiga muchas alabanzas, atribuyéndole grandes virtudes y los adelantos de la poblacion."

[2] El Bailio Fr. D. Antonio María de Bucaréli y Ursúa, Henestrosa, Laso de la Vega, Villacis y Córdova, Caballero Gran Cruz, y Comendador de la Bóbeda de Toro (*or* de la Tocina) en el orden de San Juan, Gentil Hombre de la Cámara de su Magestad con Entrada, Teniente General de los Reales Exércitos, Virrey, Gobernador y Capitan General del Reyno de Nueva España, Presidente de su Real Audiencia, Superintendente General de Real Hacienda, Presidente de la Junta de Tabaco, Juez Conservador de este Ramo, y Subdelegado General de la Renta de Correos Maritimos en el mismo Reyno, etc.

Otherwise Sir Anthony M. Bucareli, etc., Grand Cross Knight Commander of the Vault of the Bull (*or* of the Tocina—whatever that may be) in the Order of St. John of Malta, Gentleman of His Majesty's chamber with right of entrance, Lieutenant-General of the Royal Armies, Viceroy, Governor and Captain-General of the Kingdom of New Spain, President of its Royal Audience, Superintendent General of the Royal Exchequer, President of the Tobacco Commission, Judge Advocate of that Branch, and Subdelegate General of Marine Mail Revenue in the same Kingdom, etc.—at a salary of $60,000 to $80,000 a year, was nevertheless a truly good as well as a very great man, and the forty-sixth viceroy of New Spain, now commonly and conveniently called Bucareli for short.

It has been said that probably his right of way in the king's chamber was not granted till after 1776; but I find this title on a printed document bearing his autograph signature of date Mar. 9, 1776 (see accompanying plate). All of his many autographs I have inspected are written "Bucarely," but the last letter is really a flourished *i*, not to be printed *y*. He was a native of Seville, related to noble families of Spain and Italy, and descended on the paternal side from a Florentine family which included popes, cardinals, and other dignitaries, while the Ursúas, on his mother's side, were related to dukes of Alburquerque, Lerma, Denia, Alba, Arcos, etc. His portrait, by Francisco Antonio Vallejo, 1772, hangs in the Museo Nacional of Mexico, and a print is inserted on p. 852 of México á Través de los Siglos. A promenade in the City of Mexico bears some of his name.

This nobleman had served with distinction in various military and high civil capacities and was governor of Cuba when he received from Carlos III. the viceroyalty of New Spain. He left Habana Aug. 14, 1771, reached Vera Cruz 23d, and was met at the Pueblo de San Cristóbal Ecatepec by an official deputation on Sept. 2, then and there receiving the viceregal baton from his predecessor, Marqués de Croix. His entry into the capital next day, the 3d, was triumphal: and he took oath of office as viceroy, governor, captain-general, president of the Real Audiencia, etc., which he held until his untimely death on Apr. 9, 1779. His administration was wise, strong, beneficent, and happy; he made an ideal ruler, beloved and honored by all. His eulogists were many: one of them says that his period may be called "an epoch of uninterrupted felicity for New Spain. Divine Providence would seem to have rewarded his virtues by visiting every sort of prosperity upon the country over which he ruled." The body lay in state at the palace till the 13th, was that day deposited in the convent of San Francisco, and the remains were finally interred in the colegiata of Guadalupe on Oct. 29, after the heart and other viscera had been divided as



EL BAILIO Fʳ. D. ANTONIO MARIA BUCARELI Y URSUA,

Heneſtroſa, Laſo de la Vega, Villacis y Córdova, Caballero Gran Cruz y Comendador de la Bóbeda de Toro en el Orden de S. Juan, Gentil Hombre de Cámara de S. M. con entrada, Teniente General de los Reales Exércitos, Virey Gobernador y Capitan General del Reyno de Nueva España, Preſidente de ſu Real Audiencia, Superintendente General de Real Hacienda y Ramo del Tabaco, Juez Conſervador de eſte, Preſidente de ſu Junta, y Subdelegado General de la Renta de Correos en el miſmo Reyno.

Concedo libre y ſeguro Paſaporte á

FACSIMILE OF DOCUMENT SIGNED BY BUCARÉLI

holy relics between the Capuchin nunnery, the Casa de Ejercicios of San Felipe, and perhaps another pious establishment.

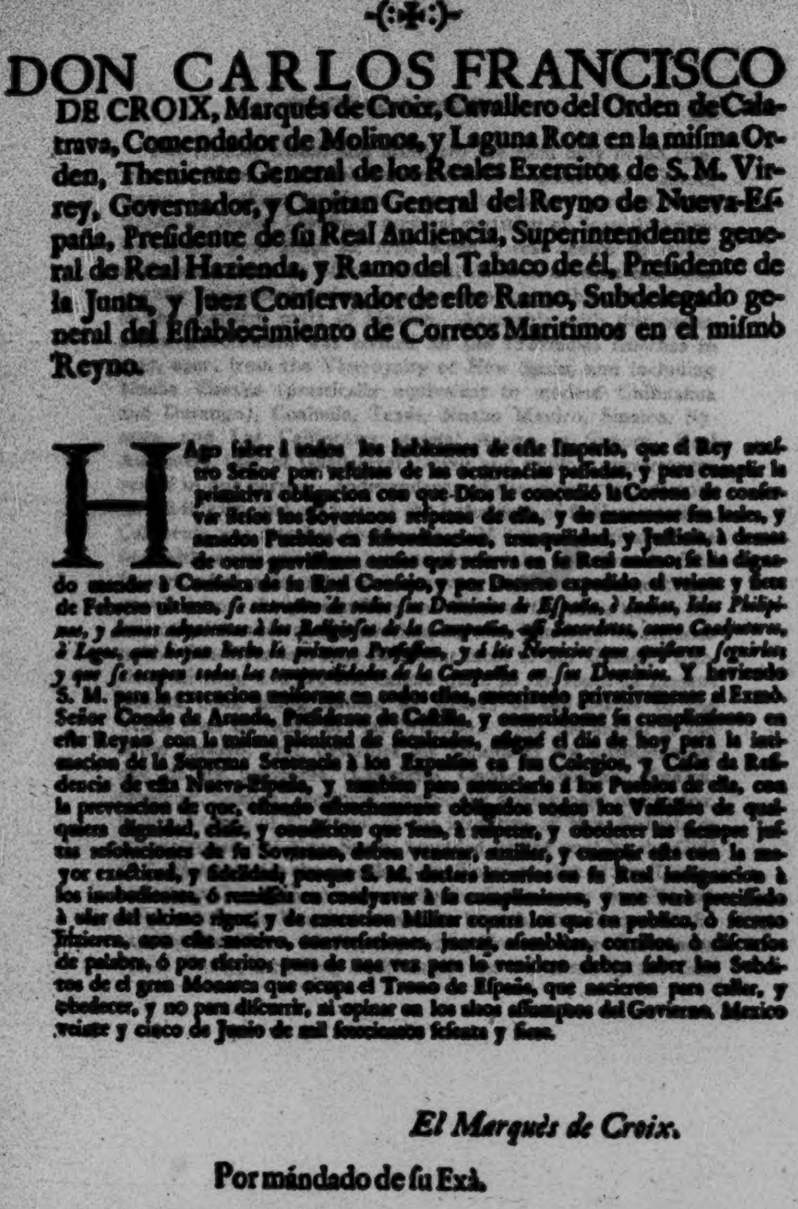
[8] The same accomplished officer who has been already mentioned as in command of the California expedition in connection with which Garcés made his Fourth Entrada, 1774: see back, pp. 38-46. Anza or Ansa comes into our records as a captain about the years 1765-66, in connection with various operations against Apaches. In 1764 and for some years afterward he was in command of the garrison at Tubac. He was still a captain in 1774, but at present we find him a lieutenant-colonel, who left Tubac on this his second Californian expedition Oct. 23, 1775. It greatly redounded to his renown, and he soon became the governor of New Mexico, succeeding Colonel Pedro Firmin de Mendinueta in that office. Mendinueta, who was the last to hold the title of governor and captain-general, retired in March, 1778; and the same year, after a brief period of an acting governorship under Francisco Trebol Navarro, he was succeeded by Anza, as political and military governor. Anza's appointment dates June, 1777; his assumption of office is somewhat uncertain; he seems to have been actually governor in June, 1778, and certainly was such by January of 1779. He governed New Mexico till late in 1789, when he was succeeded by Fernando de la Concha. Anza was "a native of Sonora, a man of excellent ability and character, and of wide experience in Indian warfare. He seems to have proved in every way worthy of the Caballero de Croix's high esteem; yet with all his energy he effected but slight change for the better in New Mexican affairs. His first recorded enterprise was a campaign against the Comanches with a force of 645 men, including 85 soldiers and 259 Indians. His course was north and northeast for some 95 miles, and the result was the killing of Cuerno Verde [or Green Horn], the famous Comanche chieftain [from whom appear to have been named certain mountains in Colorado], with four of his leading sub-chiefs, his high-priest, his eldest son and

heir, and 32 of his warriors": see Bancroft, Hist. Ariz. and N. M., p. 264 *et seq.*, where a further account of Anza is given, and original documents relating to this Comanche campaign are cited. The date of the campaign was Aug.-Sept., 1779.

[4] Font accompanied Anza's expedition throughout, proved a troublesome fellow and a model journalist, whose narrative of the affair is extant, and has been repeatedly drawn upon by historians of California and others, often incorrectly or perversely. His original MS., in his own handwriting, is now in my hands, making a small quarto of pp. 336, finished at Tubutama, May 11, 1777, with Font's signature. The precious volume belongs to the John Carter Brown Library of Providence, R. I. By generous permission of Mr. John Nicholas Brown and Mr. George Parker Winship I am authorized to use it at my discretion. It serves to check, corroborate, and amplify some portions of Garcés' own narrative; and I hope to publish it in full as the next one of the American Explorer Series.

[5] Carlos III.—Charles the Third, b. Jan. 20, 1716, second son of Philip V., King of the Two Sicilies 1735-59, King of Spain Dec. 9, 1759, to his death Dec. 14, 1788. His most notable act, so far as we are at present concerned, was the expulsion of the Jesuits from all Spanish dominions in 1767, thus bringing the Franciscans into power in New Spain. This extremely important consummation was effected by order of Viceroy Marqués de Croix, dated June 25, 1767. The document may be read, *e. g.*, in México á Través de los Siglos, pp. 841, 842, preceded on pp. 840, 841 by the Real pragmática ending "Rubricado de la Real mano en el Pardo, á 27 de Marzo de 1767.—Al Conde de Aranda, Presidente del Consejo." The King has deigned "mandar á Consulta de su Real Consejo, y por Decreto expedido el viente y siete de Febrero ultimo (1767), se extrañen," etc. I present the proclamation in facsimile (see plate).

[6] Or Santa Olaya, otherwise Santa Eulalia de Merida, virgin and martyr under Diocletian; her day Dec. 10. On the locality, see a note beyond, at date of Dec. 6.



DON CARLOS FRANCISCO DE CROIX, Marqués de Croix, Cavallero del Orden de Calatrava, Comendador de Molinos, y Laguna Rota en la miſma Orden, Theniente General de los Reales Exercitos de S. M. Virrey, Governador, y Capitan General del Reyno de Nueva-Eſpaña, Preſidente de ſu Real Audiencia, Superintendente general de Real Hazienda, y Ramo del Tabaco de él, Preſidente de la Junta, y Juez Conſervador de eſte Ramo, Subdelegado general del Eſtablecimiento de Correos Maritimos en el miſmo Reyno.

Hago ſaber à todos los habitantes de eſte Imperio, que el Rey nueſtro Señor por reſultas de las ocurrencias paſſadas, y para cumplir la primitiva obligacion con que Dios le concedió la Corona de conſervar ileſos los Soveranos reſpetos de ella, y de mantener ſus leales, y amados Pueblos en ſubordinacion, tranquilidad, y Juſticia, à demas de otras graviſſimas cauſas que reſerva en ſu Real animo; ſe ha dignado mandar à Conſulta de ſu Real Conſejo, y por Decreto expedido el veinte y ſiete de Febrero ultimo, *ſe extrañen de todos ſus Dominios de Eſpaña, è Indias, Islas Philipinas, y demas adyacentes à los Religioſos de la Compañia, aſsi Sacerdotes, como Coadjutores, ò Legos, que hayan hecho la primera Profeſsion, y à los Novicios que quiſieren ſeguirles; y que ſe ocupen todas las temporalidades de la Compañia en ſus Dominios.* Y haviendo S. M. para la execucion uniforme en todos ellos, autorizado privativamente al Exmô. Señor Conde de Aranda, Preſidente de Caſtilla, y cometidome ſu cumplimiento en eſte Reyno con la miſma plenitud de facultades, aſigné el dia de hoy para la intimacion de la Suprema Sentencia à los Expulſos en ſus Colegios, y Caſas de Reſidencia de eſta Nueva-Eſpaña, y tambien para anunciarla à los Pueblos de ella, con la prevencion de que, eſtando eſtrechamente obligados todos los Vaſſallos de qualquiera dignidad, claſe, y condicion que ſean, à reſpetar, y obedecer las ſiempre juſtas reſoluciones de ſu Soverano, deben venerar, auxiliar, y cumplir eſta con la mayor exactitud, y fidelidad; porque S. M. declara incurſos en ſu Real indignacion à los inobedientes, ò remiſſos en coadyuvar à ſu cumplimiento, y me veré preciſado à uſar del ultimo rigor, y de execucion Militar contra los que en publico, ò ſecreto hicieren, con eſte motivo, converſaciones, juntas, aſambléas, corrillos, ò diſcurſos de palabra, ò por eſcrito; pues de una vez para lo venidero deben ſaber los Subditos de el gran Monarca que ocupa el Trono de Eſpaña, que nacieron para callar, y obedecer, y no para diſcurrir, ni opinar en los altos aſſumptos del Govierno. Mexico veinte y cinco de Junio de mil ſetecientos ſeſenta y ſiete.

El Marquès de Croix.

Por mándado de ſu Exà.

FACSIMILE OF PROCLAMATION EXPELLING JESUITS BY THE MARQUÉS DE CROIX, JUNE 25, 1767. (FROM AN ORIGINAL IN POSSESSION OF MR. F. W. HODGE)

[1] The Apache nation and Monterey are each fully noted elsewhere. Here it will be convenient to explain what Garcés means by "these provinces"—the Provincias Internas de la Reyno de Nueba España, a political partition of Spanish America dating from Aug. 22, 1776, when a real cédula de nuebo reglamento made an official colonial division of what had been vaguely recognized under the same name since the 17th century as the northern parts of Mexico. Agreeably with this order, a new government was formed for the Provincias Internas in 1777, apart from the Viceroyalty of New Spain, and including Nueba Viscaya (practically equivalent to modern Chihuahua and Durango), Coahuila, Texas, Nuebo Mexico, Sinaloa, Sonora, and Las Californias; capital Arizpe in Sonora; Real Audiencia, that of Guadalaxara; civil and military government vested in one person. Independence of the viceroy was discontinued in 1786, and 1787-93; at the latter date of final separation, California was attached to Mexico. Of "these provinces," the one with which we have here to do mainly was *Sonora*. The Sonora of Garcés' time was not very different in extent and position from the present Mexican State of the same name; but it reached further north, overlapping our Territory of Arizona to the Gila river and thus including most of our Gadsden Purchase of 1853, and did not extend quite so far south as present Sonora does, being limited by writers of the period to the Yaqui river or valley in that direction. Thus the author of the Rudo Ensayo, 1763, describes his Sonora as the northernmost one of six provinces (Chametla, Copala, Culiacan, Zinaloa, Ostimuri, Sonora), politically under the government of Zinaloa, in the diocese of Durango, in the kingdom of New Galicia, in the viceroyalty of New Spain; bounded on the west by the Gulf of California from the mouth of the Yaqui to that of the Tomosatzi (our Colorado river), and by the latter up to the Gila; on the south by the Yaqui river and its branch, Rio Chico; on the east by the Sierra Madre, separating Sonora from Taraumara (New Biscay, including Chihuahua); on the north by the Gila

river up to the San Pedro and thence obliquely along the latter to the Sierra Madre—this northeastern boundary not well defined, any more than the southeastern, but taking in the Baseraca mission, the presidios of Terrenate, Fronteras, etc., as the southeastern did certain missions beyond the Yaqui. In fewest words, we may say that Sonora was bounded on the north by the Gila, on the south by the Yaqui, on the east by the Continental Divide, on the west by the Gulf of California and Colorado river. This was the fullest comprehension of the name —"Sonora" being sometimes restricted to the valley of Rio de Sonora, and to the river itself. The Province of Sonora was also divided—not politically or definitely, but descriptively—into Pimeria Baxa or Baja, in the region of Rios Yaqui and Sonora, home of the Southern or Low Pima Indians; and Pimeria Alta, where lived the Northern or High Pimas, in the region of Rio Altar and northward; this portion of Pimeria shading off on the north and northwest into Papagueria, home of the Papagos, and on the north and northeast into Apacheria, where roamed the outlawed Apaches. On the east, the country is mostly mountainous, on the west mostly a flat desert, excepting in both cases the watercourses. These, besides the Colorado and Gila, are mainly: Rio Papago, insignificant, northwesternmost; Rio Altar and Rio Magdalena or San Ignacio, small; Rio Sonora or Ures, with Rio Horcasitas or San Miguel, large; Rio Matape or San José, rather small; and Rio Yaqui or Hiaqui, etc., sometimes called Rio Grande, largest, whose principal branches are Rios Moctezuma and Bavispe: all flowing on west, southwest, or south courses to or toward the Gulf. To these add Rios Santa Cruz and San Pedro, flowing northerly toward or into the Gila. By far the greater number of settlements, native or Spanish, that Sonora has, or ever had, are or were on the rivers named and their lesser affluents; all of them were and most of them still are, very small places—rancherias, haciendas, minas, misiones, pueblos, presidios; but such have been extremely numerous—there had been hundreds of them by

Garcés' time. The Rudo Ensayo records 29 missions for 1763; 73 Indian villages and several rancherias; 22 inhabited Spanish towns or mines, including the 5 presidios of Tubac, Terrenate, Fronteras, Altar, and San Miguel de Horcasitas; 48 uninhabited Spanish settlements, mostly abandoned mines; 2 inhabited Spanish ranches, and 126 uninhabited ditto—figures which show how nearly the Apache came to being monarch of everything in sight. In a note in the Appendix to this work I will give a complete list of the 29 missions with their respective visitas, existent in 1763.

The tract above cited, entitled Rudo Ensayo, etc., was written by a Jesuit priest, name unknown: perhaps John Mentuig, Nentvig, or Nentoig, missionary to the Opatas of Sonora, and ministro cura at Guasavas for eleven years, 1751-62. The ostensible date of this "Rough Essay" is 1763; from internal evidence it appears that it was penned in 1761 and to Nov. 27, 1762. Of the original MS. we only know from a note in the Historia de la Compañia de Jesus en Nueva-España, pub. Mexico, 1842, in which the editor, Carlos M. Bustamente, says that it was to be found among the unpublished papers of Padre Vega in the library of the Convent of San Francisco. The author of the Historia cited, Padre Francisco Javier Alegre, uses the Rudo Ensayo extensively, as for example, regarding the Casas Grandes of the Gila. It is among the Documentos collected in Nueva España by royal order of 1779, during the viceroyalty of Revilla Gigedo; the collection being in the Department of State of Mexico, and a duplicate in the Royal Academy of History at Madrid. It was first printed, in Spanish, in an edition of 150 or 160 copies, from an authentic MS., by Buckingham Smith, in 1863. It was first translated into English by Eusebio Guitéras, and in this form was published by the Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc., vol. v, No. 2, June, 1894, pp. 109-264, preceded, pp. 99-108, by a biographical sketch and portrait of the translator, b. Matanzas, Cuba, Mar. 5, 1823, d. Philada., Pa., Dec. 24, 1893. I shall have frequent occasion to cite the Rudo Ensayo.

which is the best natural, civil, and ecclesiastical history and description of Sonora we possess for the years immediately preceding the expulsion of the Jesuits and the appearance of the Franciscans upon the scene—Fathers Garcés and Font among them. I use the convenient though not wholly unexceptionable English translation just cited, no copy of Buckingham Smith's Spanish edition being conveniently accessible to me.

[8] So here: elsewhere variously Eixarc, Eixarch, Eirarch, Eyzarch, Eichasch, etc. Font has Eixarch. In Hinton's Handbook, p. 393, the three priests of this expedition figure as "Fathers Pedro, Garcia, and Elrach"—a fine example of the way in which names are sometimes treated in the course of alleged history.

[9] Un lienzo de Maria SSma con el Niño Dios en los brazos y en su respaldo la figura de un Condenado. This object was a large piece of cloth with the Virgin and Child printed in colors on one side, and on the other a person burning in hell, used by the priests to impress the Indians, on the principle of the St. Veronica handkerchiefs. Garcés would hold it up, and when they had sufficiently admired the mother and infant, he would turn it around to let them see what they might expect if they did not mind what he said, as he tells us beyond.

[10] *Entrada*—entrance, entry, act of entering, but in a formal or official manner: a term almost technically used of the descent of conquistadores, temporal or spiritual, upon their intended native subjects or converts.

CHAPTER II.

FROM TUBAC TO CASAS GRANDES ON RIO GILA, OCTOBER 21-31, 1775.*

Oct. 21.[1] Went to the Presidio de Tubác[2] with my companion Eisarc and Padre Font, in order to join the comandante of the expedition, Lieutenant-Colonel Don Juan Bautista de Ansa.

Oct. 22.[3] Mass was said to Maria de Guadalupe as patroness of the expedition, and I celebrated it in honor of Señor San Pedro Apostol, my special advocate on this and antecedent entradas to the gentiles. Padre Font observed the latitude of this presidio in 31° 43′.

Oct. 23.[4] We left the Presidio de Tubác and halted in the place called Canoa,[5] whither we went five leagues northnortheast.

Oct. 24. Left Canoa and halted at the Point of the Plains,[6] having traveled 3 leagues northnortheast.

Oct. 25.[7] We arrived at my mission[8] of San

---

* The notes to this chapter are too long to be set where they belong. They will be found at the end of the chapter.

Xavier del Bác,[9] having traveled 6 leagues north ¼ east.

Oct. 26.[10] We arrived at a laguna near (*fuera de*) the pueblo de Tucson,[11] a visita of my administration, [12] and the last christianized pueblo in this direction, having traveled 4 leagues about north (*rumbo quasi al norte*).

Oct. 27. Padre Font observed this place in 32° 22′. We departed from it in the afternoon, and halted in a plain within sight of the sierra called Frente Negra,[13] having traveled 5 leagues—2 northnorthwest and 3 northwest.

Oct. 28.[14] We halted at some rain-pools (*lagunas llovedizas*) which the Indians call Oytapars,[15] whose situation was a pueblo of Pápagos,[16] depopulated a few years ago by the hostilities of the Apaches; having traveled fully 6 leagues westnorthwest with some deviations westward.[17]

Oct. 29. We approached Rancheria [18] Quitoac,[19] inhabited at times by the Pápagos, and halted near a picacho [20] which the Indians call the Cerro de Tacca; [21] having traveled 2 leagues northwest and 3 northnorthwest. This very day a runner was dispatched to the Pimas Gileños [22] informing them of our arrival; and the señor comandante resolved opportunely to publish a proclamation (*vando*) commanding that all persons should behave in such manner that the gentiles should be set no bad example by the Españoles, nor that these should offend them by deed or word in the very least (*en lo mas minimo*), under pain of rigorous punishment for disobedience.

Oct. 30. We approached the Rio Gila and halted at a laguna [Camani], having traveled 12 leagues—6 northwest, 3 northnorthwest, and 3 north.[23]

Although on this road we saw no grass (*zacate*)[24] yet is it certain that at a little distance on one and the other side it is found abundantly and in years of much rain still more so. As a result of the message sent yesterday to the Pimas Gileños, there came out to receive us at this place the governor of the rancherias called Equituni[25] and Quitoa,[26] the governor of Vturituc,[27] a pueblo of the Rio Gila, its alcalde, the governor of Sutaquison,[28] with many other Indians, all on horseback; who dismounted to salute us, and gave to the soldiers two scalps (*cabelleras*) of Apaches killed a few days before in the wars which they wage with them.[29] They remounted and accompanied us to their place of residence, asking repeatedly if we were going to baptize them and live with them; an evident sign of the great disposition that there is in these peoples to be catechised. All showed great joy upon our arrival.

Oct. 31. The señor comandante determined to rest our party; and in consequence of this I had an opportunity of going to see the Casa Grande that they call de Moctezuma."[1] We [Garcés and Font] traveled about 3 leagues southeast, and arrived at the casa, whose position is found in latitude 33° 03′ 30″. For the present condition of this casa I refer to the description thereof that Padre Font has given; and in the end will speak of that which I have been enabled to conjecture from what I saw and learned at Moqui.

Notes.

[1] The MS. we follow gives this date as "dia 1 de Octubre," evidently by error of the scribe. The Beaumont MS. and the pub. Doc. both have "dia 21," and so I make the required correction.

In order to bring the whole case up to this date of Oct. 21, I will cite Font's Diary of the expedition for antecedent events.

This expedition of 1775-76 was determined upon in consequence of the journey of 1774, which Anza had made by way of the Colorado to Monterey, accompanied by Garcés and Diaz. On the present occasion he was to conduct 30 families of settlers to the bay of San Francisco and there found a colony. The heads of the families were all to be married soldiers, of whom the lieutenant, sergeant, and eight privates were to be veterans from various Sonoran presidios, and the other 20 recruits from Culiacan and Sinaloa. This party was made up in the Presidio de San Miguel de Orcasitas, having passed through the Mision de San Joseph de Pimas, where Font was the minister, May 26, 1775. Anza arrived there May 23; on June 1 Font turned over his mission to Padre Fray Joachin Belarde, and went by way of San Marcial to Orcasitas, where he arrived Aug 2. As there was still time to spare, Font went to Ures, 6th; on Sept. 16 he was sent for by Anza, and he came to Orcasitas that day. He was not in good health, and enjoyed few well days on the whole trip. The outfit made up at Orcasitas was as follows:

Lieutenant-colonel Juan Bautista Anza, commanding officer,	1
Father Pedro Font, chaplain,	1
Don Mariano Vidal, purveyor,	1
Lieutenant Joseph Joachin Moraga,	1
Veteran soldiers, as escort,	10
Recruits,	20
Women, children, and other persons,	106
Muleteers of the three pack-trains,	20
Families of settlers, etc.,	17
Total personnel,	177

To which add three children born en route, subtract one woman who died, and make other changes at Tubac, as given beyond. The material of the outfit was:

Pack-mules of baggage, provisions, munitions of war, and articles for presents to Indians, divided into 3 pack-trains,	120
Pack-mules of Anza's baggage and mess,	20
Public and private horses, some saddle-mules, etc.,	450
Total materiel,	590

This outfit being mustered and inspected at Orcasitas, the expedition was ready to move on San Miguel's day. The route to Tubac was:

Sept. 29. From Orcasitas one league to a place on the Rio San Miguel. (Font's leagues were Mexican, of 5000 varas.)

Sept. 30. Four leagues to a place called Chupisonora, the ranch of a militia captain named Mesa. Remained Oct. 1.

Oct. 2. Five leagues to camp at a place called Palma.

Oct. 3. Six leagues to Charco del Canelo.

Oct. 4. Six full leagues to Puerto de los Conejos, passing Querobabi halfway.

Oct. 5. Seven full leagues to Charco de Guana, a place between two others called Piriguita and Baxajita.

Oct. 6. Six leagues to Pueblo de Santa Ana. (Thus the expedition has come up river along the line of the present railroad which runs down to Guaymas.) Remained 7th. Took observation of lat. 30° 38′ 30″.

Oct. 8. Six leagues to Santa Maria Magdalena. (Now Magdalena, and the principal place in that region.)

Oct. 9. Two leagues to the mission of San Ignacio, where Padre Fray Francisco Zúñiga was in charge. Lat. 30° 47′ 30″. Remained 10th.

Oct. 11. Four leagues to a place on Rio Magdalena near the Pueblo de Imuris.

Oct. 12. Four leagues to Guambút (a place on the railroad, before entering the cañon; vicinity of modern Casita).

Oct. 13. Four leagues north to Sibuta (apparently modern Cibita, on the railroad).

Oct. 14. Eight full leagues to Las Lagunas. (Bringing the expedition just over the boundary between Sonora and Arizona, at or near the well-known modern Los Nogales.)

Oct. 15. Eight leagues to Presidio de TUBAC (passing site of modern old Fort Mason). Font himself went with four soldiers to say mass to the Pueblo de Calabazas, two leagues from last camp, and a little off the road. In this pueblo, which was a visita of the Tumacacori mission, and had been a visita of Huevavi (or Guevavi), Font found Padre Fray Pedro Arrequivar. After mass he joined the expedition en route, and went as far as Tumacacori, one league short of Tubac. At Tumacacori he found both Garcés and Eixarch, who were to be his companions on the expedition; and he put up at this mission with them and Arrequivar and Fray Felix Gamarra, till the expedition was ready to start from Tubac, the priests making meanwhile several trips back and forth between the two neighboring places. Anza and the troops of course took up their station in Tubac.

[3] From *tu*, ——, and *bac*, house, adobe house, also ruined house, ruins, etc. (the word occurring also in San Xavier del *Bac*, Quito*bac*, *Bac*uachi, *Bac*uanchos, and other names of Piman settlements). This was a settlement of Pima, Papago, and possibly Sobaipuri Indians, at which a presidio and mission were established in 1752, on the W. bank of Rio Santa Cruz, at the site of the present town of the same name, about 45 m. S. of Tucson, Ariz.; pop. in 1754-57, 411, including the garrison of 50. In 1776 the presidio was transferred to Tuscon (it so appears on Font's map of next year), after which, but prior to 1784, a company of Pima allies was stationed there, and in 1824 a garrison was again established. In 1842-43 a rancheria of friendly Apache lived there. In 1848 the population was 249. The presidial name of Tubac was San Ignacio, applied also to a mission further south, in Sonora.—F. W. H.

Tubac has hardly any history back of 1752. The name is said to be given on a map of the 17th century, but does not appear on Kino's of 1701, though that good father had been on the spot more than once by that time. Ortega, in Apost. Afanes, p. 266, says that on Jan. 19, 1697, Father Kino left his mission of Dolores in Sonora for San Cayetano de Tumacacori and San Xavier del Bac, which he visited and returned; he must therefore have twice passed the site of Tubac; but as there is no mention of such a place, probably no settlement then existed. The Rudo Ensayo, p. 254, speaks of the Presidio *de Tubaca*, as about 7 l. n.n.w. of Guevavi, on the spot where the Piman town of the same name stood prior to the revolt of Nov. 20, 1751; it was then a visita of Guevavi for mission purposes. This uprising caused the founding of Presidio Tubac in 1752, as above said. In 1762, when the Ensayo was being written, the natives of Tubac had moved S. to Tumacacori, the next place up river. At the same time there was another depopulated rancheria called Sopori, 2 l. or more N. From 1764 for some years the

Presidio de Tubac was under the command of J. B. de Anza. A glimpse of Tubac in 1852 is given in Bartlett's Narr., ii, pp. 302-304, as a presidio or garrison, consisting of a collection of dilapidated buildings and huts, about half of which were tenantless, and an equally ruinous church. "Captain Gomez, who commanded at Fronteras at the time of my visit there with Colonel Craig in 1851, was in command here . . . but as for this God-forsaken place, when I have said that it contains a few dilapidated buildings and an old church, with a miserable population, I have said about all. It was established as a presidio almost a century and a half ago [just 100 years—in 1752] and usually maintained a population of 400 souls. It was abandoned a year before our arrival, but had since been repopulated and might have comprised at the time of our visit a hundred souls."

In 1858-60 the restored ruins of old Tubac were occupied by a small mixed population of Americans and Mexicans, with a temporary camp of 100 Papagos; and in those years was published the Weekly Arizonian, the first newspaper of the future Territory. The place was of some little consequence as only about 10 m. W. of the hacienda of the noted Santa Rita mines. The same distance N. of Tubac was then a place called Reventon, the fortified ranch of an American named William Rhodes, whose exploit in standing off single-handed a party of Apaches may be read in late popular books. This occurred near Reventon; see, for example, Pumpelly, pp. 47, 48. The Sabino Otero claim adjoins Tubac on the N. The latitude of Tubac is 31° 40′; longitude very near 34° W. from Washington.

[3] *Oct. 22, Sunday.* Good Father Font was an orotund and unctuous preacher who dearly loved to lay down the law, and must have been a tremendous smooth-bore to such a man as Anza. This time he drew his text from the gospel of the day, *Nolite timere, pusillus grex* ("Don't be afraid, little flock"), exhorted his hearers to perseverance and endurance, and drew a fine parallel between the passage of this expedition across the Colorado to San Francisco and the "transito del Pueblo de

Israel á la Tierra de Promission por el Mar Bermejo"; announced the castigation God had in store for them if they scandalized the gentiles en route; assured them that the most holy Virgin of Guadalupe would be to them as a tower of strength the whole way, if they behaved like good Christians, etc. What is more to the point, however, Font's Diary gives the complete roster and inventory of the expedition which started next day, as follows:

Individuals.

In the 1st place, the Señor Theniente Coronel de Cavalleria, y Comandante de la Expedicion, Don Juan Bautista de Ansa, ...	1
Padre Capellan de Propaganda fide del Colegio de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro, Fray Pedro Font, .	1
Padres Fray Francisco Garcés y Fray Thomas Eixarch: these were destined to remain on the Colorado, ...	2
Proveedor de la Expedicion Don Mariano Vidal,	1
Theniente Don Joseph Joachin Moraga, who, though married, did not bring his family because his wife was sick at Terrenate, ...	1
Sargento Juan Pablo Grijalba, ...	1
Eight veteran soldiers from the presidios of Sonora, ...	8
Twenty soldiers, recruits for Monterey, . . .	20
Ten veteran soldiers from the Presidio de Tubac as escort, ...	10
Twenty-nine wives belonging to the sergeant and 28 soldiers, ...	29
One hundred and thirty-six persons of both sexes pertaining to the foregoing soldiers, etc., . .	136
Twenty muleteers of the three pack-trains, etc., .	20
Three herders of the beef-cattle, ...	3
Three servants of the three padres, to which add	

one other who stayed with the two padres on the Colorado,	4
Three Indian interpreters of the three nations, Yuma, Cajuenche, and Jalchedun,	3
Total,	240

Including in this number the woman who afterward died on the road.

Baggage.

There were taken one hundred and forty mules loaded with provisions, munitions of war, and equipments of the señor comandante of the expedition, and other effects of the latter, and presents in the name of His Majesty for the gentiles of the transit,	140
Item: About twenty-five loads of private baggage of the troops,	25
Item: Horses belonging to the expedition, with some private ones and some saddle-mules,	500
Item: Some thirty mares, colts, and asses,	30
Total of the horse-herd, etc.,	695

Cattle.

Item: Three hundred and twenty-five head of cattle for the subsistence of the expedition on the road, and the rest to start a herd in the new settlement and missions of the bay of San Francisco,	325
Item: About thirty private cattle,	30
	355

I think I would have been willing to hear Father Font preach for the sake of having such a tabular exhibit of this expedition, which we see was an extensive outfit—240 persons and 1050 beasts. The father notes that it was reduced en route by death, straying, and barter. He further notes that the regular order of march was this: At the proper hour in the morning the order was given to round up the cavallada and mulada, the soldiers and servants going for the horses and the packers for the mules. While these people were packing and saddling he used to say mass, as there was plenty of time. As soon as the three pack-trains were ready to start, the commanding officer gave the order to mount—*Vayan subiendo!* and they all mounted, forming a column in this wise: Four soldiers went ahead as scouts. Anza led off with the van guard. Font came next, and after him came men, women, and children, escorted by soldiers; then the lieutenant brought up the rear guard. Behind these followed the three pack-trains, with the loose horses, and last of all the beef-herd. As soon as they started Font would strike up a hymn, the Alabado, to which all the people responded. The column, as may be easily seen, was a very long one, even when well closed up. On making camp, when they had dismounted, the lieutenant came to report to the commanding officer whether they were all up, or any had been left behind, and receive his orders. At night the people recited their beads, each family by itself, and finishing by singing the Alabado or Salve, or something of that sort, everyone for himself, and Font remarks that the variety had a very pleasing effect. There were so many people that when they camped it looked like a regular settlement, with the shelters that the soldiers made with their cloaks and blankets on boughs, and with the 13 tents of the company—nine for the soldiers, one for the lieutenant, one for Garcés and Eixarch, one for Font, and a big circular one for the señor comandante.

'I shall continue to check and amplify Garcés' Diary by Font's, during the time the two priests keep together.—This night a soldier's wife gave birth to a fine child, but the labor was difficult, the birth was feet foremost, and the woman died at dawn. She was taken to be buried at Bac next evening, and interred on the 25th by Garcés, who went ahead with the body.

[5] After bending about the Santa Rita mts. N. of Tubac, the valley of Rio Santa Cruz widens into a plain rising to these mountains on the E., and to the Tinajita mts. on the W.; pass Santa Rita peak and Mt. Hopkins on right, and Sopori cr. on left, somewhat more than halfway between Tubac and Canoa. The distance between these places is 14 m. by road, 12 in air line; at 10 m. by road was Reventon. Canoa will be found on modern maps, in this Spanish form; it means "canoe," though why so applied does not appear, unless it be in the literal sense: one of my maps marks the place "Canoe Crossg." The place is situated in tp. 19 of range 3 E. of the 2d guide meridian, and is included in the still unconfirmed San Ignacio de la Canoa private land claim. It was primarily a rancheria, doubtless of Papago Indians; in 1860-61 it consisted of a single stockade, available as an inn, and the latter year was the scene of a massacre in which a Papago and two Americans, one of them named Tarbox, were killed: Pumpelly, pp. 45-48.

[6] Punta de los Llanos, otherwise called Llano Grande in another itinerary of this journey. This camp would be on the river, at or near the N. end of the Canoa claim, directly between Mt. Fagan on the E. and Samaniego peak on the W., each distant some 12-15 m.; nearest named place is Olive, 5 m. to the left.

[7] In the evening Eixarch baptized the infant born on the night of the 23d. Font further notes that Bac was a pueblo of the Pimas Sobaypuris, once very populous but now much reduced by the incursions of the Apaches, and also on account of the unwholesomeness of the water, which was so thick and alkaline that a Jesuit once found that a single jugful left two ounces of alkali and other impurities.

[8] According to p. 5 of "A Brief Sketch of the Mission of San Xavier del Bac, with a Description of its Church, written by a missionary of Arizona" [Rev. J. B. Salpointe,], 2 eds., Tucson and San Francisco, 1880, 8vo, pp. 20, Garcés was one of 14 priests sent by the guardian of the Franciscan college of Santa

Cruz de Querétaro at the request of the viceroy, Marqués de Croix, in the name of the king (Charles III.). These priests landed at Guaymas Mar. 27, 1768, proceeding thence to San Miguel de Horcasitas, where they established headquarters. Of these missionaries, Garcés was assigned to San Xavier del Bac in June, 1768.—F. W. H.

Bac, house, adobe house (as in Tu*bac*, etc.), probably so called from the remains of numerous ancient adobe pueblos in the vicinity. Bac was a rancheria of the Sobaipuri, a Piman tribe closely related to the Papago, with whom those who were not captured by the Apache were consolidated. The settlement was situated on Rio Santa Cruz, 9 m. S. of Tucson in the N. E. corner of what is now the Papago Reservation by executive order of July 1, 1874. The rancheria, Bac, was visited by Father Eusebio Kino in 1697, and no doubt as early as 1692, the church (still standing) having been begun in 1699. In 1697 San Xavier del Bac contained 830 persons in 176 houses, making it the largest rancheria in the entire Pimeria, as the Pima country was called. In 1751 (during the revolt which continued at intervals until late in 1753), it was plundered by the natives and abandoned, but was reoccupied two years later as a mission under the protection of the Tubac presidio. In 1760-64 the population was 399; but in 1772 it had dwindled to 270. Little is known of its history from Garcés' time to 1828, when it was practically abandoned as a mission. In 1865 it contained 80 Papago families, and in 1869 was entirely under the control of that tribe.—F. W. H.

Father Kino's first Arizona entrada was made with Father Juan Maria de Salvatierra in 1691. The padres were at Guevavi, Tumacacori and Suamca very early in that year. In the fall of 1692 Kino made his next visit to the Pimas, this being his second entrance into Arizona. The author of Apost. Afanes distinctly says that he started early in September of that year from his mission of Dolores, *llegó á San Xavier del Bac, y á Santa Maria Suamca*, and returned to Dolores Dec. 11,

1692. This may be the opening of recognizable history of the place. In 1694, Mange calls the river on which it is situated Rio de San Xavier del Bac, noting the expedition to that river of Antonio Solis. Kino first reached the Gila in November, 1694, and said mass in Casa Grande; but we have no route, and only presume he passed through Bac. On Jan. 19, 1697, he started for Tumacacori and Bac, which he visited and returned to Dolores. The same year he again reached the Gila, by way of the Quiburi (San Pedro) river, and returned by way of the Santa Cruz, being at Bac Nov. 24 and 25; perhaps this is the year in which the name San Xavier was given to Bac, and it also figures as Batosda in the itinerary of this tour. Kino was next at Bac in 1699, with Fathers Antonio Leal, Antonio Gonzalez and Captain Mange; the party left Dolores Oct. 24, and duly reached Bac by way of the Santa Cruz; Kino and Mange pushed on to a rancheria they called San Agustin (*i. e.*, Tucson), returned, and the party left Bac Nov. 4. Next year, Kino was again at Bac, having left Dolores Apr. 21, and returned to it May 5, 1700. *This* is the occasion, says his biographer, Ortega, Apost. Afan., p. 284, when Kino founded the church: "abrió en San Xavier los cimientos á una nueva grande Iglesia, y tan capáz, que bastasse para la mucha gente—big enough for a large congregation; and he used much tuzontle, "a certain light porous stone, very suitable for building;" still it is quite possible that the structure may have been actually begun in 1699, and Kino have this time performed some corner-stone laying or other ceremony which was regarded as the first actual "foundation."

The author of Rudo Ensayo says, p. 223: "This is the last [northernmost] mission among the Pimas . . . bounded on the west by the ranches of the Papagos who rove about this bleak wilderness; on the east by the Sobahipuris; and on the north . . . by Casas Grandes and Pima of the Gila. At a distance of 3 leagues North . . . lies the Post of Tucson with sufficient people and conveniences to found another mission. Father

Alphonsus [*sic*] Espinosa is [1762] the Minister of San Xavier, and he has to attend to more people than there are in all the other Missions. Many of the old people are new in the Faith, and he has to work hard with them to instruct them and keep them in obedience; for such is their character that the Opatas, when they are advised by the priest to be obedient and gentle, say: 'Are we perhaps Papagos?'"

The church records of baptism, etc., 1720-67, are extant, and show that during this period Bac was successively administered by 22 Jesuit padres, the last of them being Alonso Espinosa, 1763-67. Garcés arrived in 1768, and for 10 years—with intervals of travel—administered the mission, which he found in a sadly neglected state. The date "1797," still legible over the door of the present church, is traditionally and reasonably supposed to be that of its completion, the building having gone on for 14 years from 1783. It is *not* the old Kino church of 1700, but its successor, built close by to replace the original one. Balthasar Cavillo appears on the books from May 22, 1780, to 1794, and Narciso Gutierres in 1794-99, so that no doubt it was finished under the administration of these padres. Each of them went to and died in Tumacacori; Gutierres shortly before Jan. 1, 1821. On Dec. 13, 1822, the bones of both were transferred from an old to the new church, as we learn by the records. Owing to protection from the Presidio of Tucson, estab. in 1776, Bac flourished as a mission to 1810; it then went down, and ended on the expulsion of the Franciscans on the fall of the colonial government, Dec. 2, 1827. Bac had 16 post-Jesuit padres, either as residents or temporary incumbents. Bac was never quite abandoned, as it was put nominally under charge of the parish priest of Magdalena after 1827; but it merely struggled along till 1859, when Arizona was ecclesiastically segregated to the diocese of Santa Fé, N. M., whose bishop was Right Rev. J. B. Lamy, who sent Very Rev. J. P. Machebeuf to Bac. A description of Bac in 1852 is given by Bartlett, ii, p. 298: "A ride of nine miles [from Tucson] brought us to the mission of *San Xavier del Bac;* truly a miserable place, consisting of from 80 to 100 huts, or wigwams, made of mud or straw, the sole occupants of which are Pimo Indians, though generally called Papagos. In the midst of these hovels stands the largest and most beautiful church in the State of Sonora. It is built of brick on the summit of a low hill, and has two towers and a dome. In a square, around and directly connected with the church, are some adobe houses, which were occupied when the mission was in a flourishing state. All save one are now tenantless, and this, which adjoins the church, is occupied by the only Mexican family in the place." (Bartlett continues with a description of the church.) In 1864 Bac was administered by Rev. C. Mesea, S. J. In 1866 a school for Papagos was opened at Bac; and in 1873 another, the latter under A. R. Wilbur as Indian Agent, supported by the U. S. Government and administered by three Sisters of St. Joseph; closed Apr. 1, 1876, when the Papagos were consolidated with the Piman Agency. A good description of the church as it stands may be read in the pamphlet above cited, pp. 16-20, and I here give a very recent photograph.

[10] This date is notable for one of the miracles which often happened during the journey—at least in Font's diary thereof. He says it is a wonderful thing that they were never jumped by Apaches, nor did they ever see one; which should be attributed to the patronage of Santisima Virgen de Guadalupe, for, if the Apaches had jumped them, no doubt there would have been trouble—a statement of fact, whatever we may think of such simple logic.

[11] From the Piman *styuk-son*, "dark or brown spring." Its settlement by Spaniards has been reputed to date from 1560, but there is little doubt that it became a Spanish settlement not earlier than 1776. Before that time it was a rancheria, probably of mixed Pima, Papago, and Sobaipuri, and from as early as 1763 was regularly visited, as San José de Tucson, by the missionary of San Xavier del Bac. In 1776 the presidio of

CHURCH OF SAN XAVIER DEL BAC

Tubac was transferred there and the name San Agustin de Tucson applied. The native population in 1760-67 was 331, and 200 families were settled there in 1772; but in 1774, when Anza visited the place, he found but 80 families of "Pimas." It was occupied as a presidio until the beginning of the Mexican war, 1846. The name appears in many forms in literature, among them being Fruson, Fucson, Lucson, Teusón, Toison, Tubso, Tubson, Tucsson, Tuczon, Tueson, Tugson, Tuguison, Tuison, Tulquson, Tuozon, Tuquison, Tuson, and Tuqulson; the last occurring on Font's map.—F. W. H.

How long the site of Tucson had been a rancheria is unknown, but its alleged great antiquity as a Spanish settlement is a fable. There may have been a few whites there in Jesuit times, before 1767, but if so they had abandoned the place by 1763. The rubbish that has been written about Tucson's sixteenth-century dates is only matched by the like Santa Fé myths: see for example Bancroft, Ariz. and N. M., p. 374, where some of these stories are ridiculed. We have the first definite knowledge of Tucson as a *rancheria de visita* of the Bac mission in 1763. Its foundation as a Spanish settlement was in 1776, when the Presidio de Tubac was moved to Tucson; and we know of a paper dated Nov. 24, 1777, asking to have it brought back from Tucson to Tubac. At this time the name was San Agustin de Tucson, and the little Indian village alongside the presidio was called San Agustin del Pueblito de Tucson; but the name San Agustin, as applied to the site or rancheria of Tucson, is very much older, appearing in the annals of Kino's entrada of October, 1699. These statements of the date of Tucson as a presidio are confirmed by Font's journal, which for to-day has: "This pueblo de Tuquison is more populous than that of San Xavier del Bac; and the following year of 1776 the presidio of Tubac was transferred hither, where it remains still, and is called the Presidio de San Agustin del Tuquison." From these beginnings the history of Tucson, though unbroken, is little notable down to modern times. In Sept., 1848, the pop.

was 760, increased in December by refugees from Tumacacori and Tubac after Apache troubles. A plate of Tucson as it was in 1852 faces p. 292 of Bartlett's Narr., vol. ii, giving a good idea of the entourage. This author says, p. 295: "Tucson is the most northern town in Mexico, and a very old place. It is found on the oldest maps, and is referred to by the early missionaries. It has always been, and is to this day, a presidio or garrison; but for which the place could not be sustained. In its best days it boasted a population of 1000 souls, now diminished to about one third that number. It stands on the plateau adjoining the fertile valley watered by the Santa Cruz River, a small stream which rises ten miles north-east of the town of Santa Cruz, whence it flows south to that place. It then takes a westerly direction for about 10 miles, after which it flows northward through Tubac and Tucson, and soon becomes lost in the desert. The lands near Tucson are very rich, and were once extensively cultivated; but the encroachments of the Apaches compelled the people to abandon their ranchos and seek safety within the town. The miserable population, confined to such narrow limits, barely gains a subsistence, and could not exist a year but for the protection from the troops. More than once the town has been invested by from one to two thousand Indians, and attempts made to take it, but thus far without success. . . The houses of Tucson are all of adobe, and the majority are in a state of ruin. No attention seems to be given to repair; but as soon as a dwelling becomes uninhabitable, it is deserted, the miserable tenants creeping into some other hovel where they may eke out their existence. We found 300 soldiers in the place, although the average number for some years past has not exceeded 20." Tucson was occupied by a garrison of the First Dragoons in 1856, when we took possession of the Gadsden Purchase, and on Aug. 29 of that year a convention was held to take measures for a territorial organization of Arizona. In 1860-61, the Weekly Arizonian, a newspaper which had been started in Tubac, was published in Tucson.

On Apr. 2-5, 1860, a convention adopted a constitution of the provisional government of the Territory of Arizona, and published its proceedings, 12mo, pp. 23. In Feb., 1862, Tucson was occupied by Confederate troops, but held only till May. Tucson was named as the capital in the Arizona bill of March, 1862, but eliminated from that which finally passed the U. S. Senate Feb. 20, 1863, and became a law on the 24th. The new capital was fixed at Prescott in 1864, but in 1867 it was removed to Tucson; it stayed there till 1877, when it was transferred back to Prescott, and there remained till Feb. 4, 1889, when it went to Phœnix. The railroad reached Tucson in 1880, and the land office of the Gila district was removed from Florence to Tucson in 1882. Among the *notabilia* of Tucson are the two masses of meteoric iron, which long served as anvils in a blacksmith's shop. The larger one was removed in 1860, and is now in the Smithsonian Institution, known as the Ainsa meteorite, brought in 1735 from Sierra de la Madera by Don Juan Bautista de Ainsa (*sic*—apparently same name as Anza or Ansa). It is an irregular ring of iron, 38 to 49 inches in external and 23 to 26½ inches in internal diameter, weighing about 1600 lbs. The other meteorite was a slab, sent to San Francisco in 1862 by General J. H. Carleton; 4 feet long, 18 inches broad, 2 to 5 inches thick, weight 632 lbs. See Bartlett, ii, p. 297, and cut opp. p. 298; Whitney, Proc. Cala. Acad. Sci., iii, pp. 30 and 48; Pumpelly, Across Amer., p. 6.

[18] *Visita de mi administracion.* A *visita* was a clerical outpost visited or to be visited by a padre residing elsewhere, having no resident minister of its own. There were usually several such in the vicinity of the principal mission where resided the padre, and all were under his administration; all also were considered as one "mission"—the main one with its pueblos de visita. As Garcés lived at Bac, Tucson was a visita of his administration.

[19] *Sierra llamada Frente Negra,* literally Black Face. This is the range variously called Sierra de Tucson or Tucson range,

lying directly W. of Tucson, extending N. W. and S. E. Two of its peaks are Nasson and Safford, the latter northernmost; the name "Nasson" appears to be a mistake for that of John Wasson, surveyor-general of Arizona, 1870-82; Safford was evidently named for Governor A. K. P. Safford, 1869-77.

The journey has continued down Rio Santa Cruz past Rillito creek, practically along the present railroad, to camp near Point of Mountain or Rillito station, which is by rail 16 m. N. W. of Tucson. The Tortolita mts. are at a distance on the right. This locality is also called Llano del Azotado (*azotado*, one who has been flogged) and Tutuetac, in other itineraries of the journey. Font tells the story which explains the name *Azotado*. He calls the place more fully Llano del Puerto del Azotado, the passage from the plain to the gap being made next day. On the 27th, before breaking camp, two muleteers hid away, intending to desert. Some Indians of Tucson were sent to find them, and at night eight came into camp with one of the deserters. The runaway was put in custody and given twelve lashes; for which reason was the place called Llano del Azotado.

"To-day occurred one of the spats which were almost incessant between Anza and his priests, but the only one in which Garcés seems to have taken part. Font, on the other hand, was continually in hot water with his commanding officer, whom he abuses, expressly or implicitly, throughout his diary. He was not well, and some allowance may be made for our model journalist on that account; but he was peevish, fussy, meddlesome, truculent, and puffed up with his chaplaincy, to the continual annoyance of his reserved and haughty superior. When breaking camp this morning, Garcés expostulated with Anza concerning some beasts he had asked for and been promised; to which Anza replied that he could give him none because he had none to spare. Whereupon Garcés talked back pretty plainly (*con alguna claridad*), and what he said made the señor comandante so angry that though Font succeeded in pacifying him, he would not speak to either of them all that day.

[a] The meaning of this name is not known, but it seems to contain the element *o-a*, to deface, to obliterate, probably in allusion to the pueblo that had been destroyed by the Apache. It has also been called Oapars, as on Garcés' journey of 1771; while Anza and Font record it under the names Dittpax, Oitapars, Oytapayts, Oytaparts, and Pueblo viejo.—F. W. H.

[a] The derivation of the name of this important Piman tribe is involved in some doubt. It has been persistently stated by a number of writers that the word means "hair cut," or "baptized," the sign by which the "converted" Piman Indians were formerly distinguished. This is no doubt an error. More likely the term is a corruption of their own name *Papabootam* (*ootam* signifying men, folk, Indians) or else derived from *papavi-ootam*, "bean people" ("Pimas Frijoleros") because their principal crop is beans. The latter derivation was suggested by Father Kino as early as 1699. The Papago are closely allied to the Pima Alta or Northern Pima, and inhabit the territory formerly and still limitedly known as the Papagueria, extending from the Gila southward into Sonora, and from Quitovaquito in the west to San Xavier del Bac in the east. In the 17th and 18th centuries they were less inclined to village life than the Pima, a fact doubtless due to the necessities of their inhospitable habitat, where water is exceedingly scarce. They subsist by agriculture, but formerly conducted a considerable trade in salt from the inland saline lagoons. They also manufacture a syrup extracted from the pitahaya or giant cactus (*Cereus giganteus*). They are tall, dark-complexioned, and instead of wearing their hair in long braids or twists like their congeners the Pima, they cut it at a level with the shoulders. Their language varies little from that of the Pima, with whom they have intermarried from early times. They formerly suffered considerably from Apache inroads. Pop. in 1897,

3270 in Arizona, and probably as many more in Sonora. Other forms of the name are Papabi-ootam (1794), Papabi-Otawas, Papabos, Papabotas, Papaga, Papagi, Pa-Pagoe, Papagoose, Papahi-Ootam, Papahotas, Papalotes (1746), Papa-Otam (1764), Papapootam, Papavicotam, Papavo, Papawar, Papayos, Papelotes, Papigo, Piatos, Tóno-Oōtam ("Desert People," said to be one of their own names), etc.—F. W. H.

[17] Passing Rillito, Desert Wells, and Naviska stations, and thus from Pima into Pinal county, making about 16 m. to camp in the vicinity of present Red Rock.

[18] *Rancheria*, any village, settlement, or place cultivated, especially by Indians; equivalent to *rancho* or ranch, in the west meaning what farm does in the east.

[19] Quitoac also appears in print as Quitcac, and another name of this rancheria is Bajio de Aquituno, or Aquituno flats, from the Anza and Font narratives of the same journey. This was evidently an insignificant Papago settlement on the Santa Cruz near the present so-called Picacho peak, and was occupied at intervals when this intermittent stream afforded a sufficient water supply for a few families. The meaning of the name is not known, although the elements *kit* or *quit* (wall) and *bac* or *vac* (house, ruin) seem to appear in the term. As this territory contains the remains of many prehistoric pueblo ruins it is not unlikely that the name was suggested by an ancient house wall standing above ground. Arricivita calls the place Aquitun.—F. W. H.

Quitoac can be located more closely by Font's journal than by Garcés'. The former says it was only half a league from the camp of last night, and consisted of some 30 jacals, inhabited at times by the Papagos, who were just then on the Gila, as we find beyond. Font spells the name Cuitoa and Cuytoa, and says that a little further on was a laguna—the sink of the Rio del Tuquison y San Xavier, as he calls the Santa Cruz river.

[20] *Picacho*, picache or peak, peak of a mountain, but more par-

ticularly applied to any such isolated elevation in a plain as would be styled a *butte* in most parts of the west.

[22] *Cerro* is properly a hill .r smooth rounded highland in any elevated rolling country, and is not well applied to this isolated picache or peak. *Tacca* also appears in print as Ttacca and Taceo (perhaps the Piman word *ta-kju*, meaning "iron"). This small mountain stands in the plain close to the railroad, on the left going north, between Red Rock and Picacho stations: there is another further off to the right, called Desert peak. The picacho is a conspicuous landmark in the Tucson desert; a cut of this formation, viewed from the south, is on p. 290 of Bartlett's Narr., vol. ii. As Garcés is still traveling "by rail," as it were, it is easy to adjust his camps; his line of march is parallel with the rails, though a little west of them, as it is on the other (the left) side of Rio Santa Cruz, till to-day, as appears by Font's map. Besides issuing the order of which Garcés speaks, Anza to-day enforced discipline by directing 25 lashes to be given to the other muleteer who had absconded and been brought in by Indians from Tucson.

[23] These were not a distinct tribe of the Pima, the name being applied to the Pima, Sobaipuri, and also evidently some stray Papago settled along the Gila, whence the name is derived. Also called Cileños and Xileños. They of course have no connection with the Apaches Gileños or Gileño Apache to the eastward, who also were called Xileños, Gileños, etc.—F. W. H.

The author of the Rudo Ensayo devotes his chap. vi, sec. 2, pp. 188-192, to the "High and Low Pimas," *i. e.*, those of Pimeria Alta and Baxa. "The villages of the Low Pimas are like landmarks in this province [Sonora]; for from Taraitzi to Cumuripa, Onapa, Nuri, Movas, and Onabas, they form such towards the south, and from Cumuripa, Zuaqui [or Suaqui, a Nevome village], San Joseph of the Pimas, Santa Rosalia, Ures, and Nacomeri, towards the west, they form the border line with the Seris. . . The Pimas of the mountains [*i. e.*, High Pimas] occupy all of the land from Cucurpe, through Santa Ana and Caborca to the sea, from east to west, and from south to north, all from said mission running through Dolores, Remedios, Cocospera, the Terrenate fortress, and from there following the river San Pedro, called also Sobahipuris, as far as its junction with the Gila, and on both banks of the latter as far as the Colorado. . . The genuine Pimas of the mountains may be divided into four sections: the first comprehends those congregated in villages; the second, the Papagos already mentioned; the third, the Sobahipuris; and the fourth, those who live on the Gila river," *i. e.*, the Gileños mentioned in the text above. The Ensayo continues: "The Opas, Comaricopas, Hudcoadam, Yumas, Cuhuanas, Quiquimas and others beyond the Colorado river, may also be called Pimas and counted as so many tribes of this nation, for they all use the same language with merely a difference of dialect." But this last statement requires modification in order to recognize the Yumas, etc., as a distinct linguistic stock. The classification now accepted is:

PIMAN FAMILY.
a) *Northern.*
Opata.
Papago.
Pima (proper).
b) *Southern.*
Cahita.
Cora.
Tarahumara.
Tepehuana.

YUMAN FAMILY.
Cochimi.
Cocopa.
Cuchan (Yuma proper).
Diegueño.
Havasupai.
Maricopa.
Mojave.
Seri(?).
Waicuru.
Walapai.
Yavapai.

[illegible] Bearing away from the Santa Cruz in the vicinity of present Picacho station, and proceeding little west of north for about 32 miles, Garcés approaches the Gila at a point some 8 miles

N. W. of the Casa Grande, as we learn from what he says for Oct. 31. The laguna where the party camped is called Camani in another report of this expedition. This position is in the S. E. portion of the present Gila River Indian Reservation, not far from the present Indian village which is 12 m. due W. of Florence. The reservation is a large one, running broadly down both sides of the river to the confluence of Salt river, and has quite a long history: see Executive Orders of Aug. 31, 1876; Jan. 10 and June 14, 1879; May 5, 1882; Nov. 15, 1883. The Gila is the principal branch of the Colorado in Arizona, and thus the second largest river of the Territory; with its main fork, the Salado, it is the first in importance from an agricultural standpoint. A special note on this river will be found beyond.

[34] *Zacáte*, more frequently *sacáte*, from the Nahuatl *çacatl*, is the usual name for grass such as horses and cattle eat, also called indifferently by Garcés *pastos* and *pasturas*, pasturage, forage, herbage. Such "grass" is distinguished from *sacaton*, the tall rank herbage, such as reeds, rushes, and the like, unfit for forage.

[35] Equituni is the same as Aquituno or Aquituni, the names applied by Anza and Font on this journey to Garcés' rancheria of Quitoac. So far as known this is the first and indeed only time the name is given. There is a close similarity between the names Quitoac and Quitoa (following), but unless Garcés became confused they were doubtless distinct rancherias. —F. W. H.

[36] Cuitoa was a Papago village, the Papago also being loosely included with the Pimas Gileños. See note [32], p. 84.—F. W. H.

[37] Vturituc was a Pima village on the Gila, 4 to 6 leagues west of Casa Grande ruin. Anza visited it in 1774, at which date it had 300 inhabitants. Font estimated the population at 1000. Its saint name was San Juan Capistrano, and it has been referred to under the names San Juan Capistrans de Virtud, Uluritue, Tutiritucar, Tutunitucan, Utilltuc, and Uturicut.—F. W. H.

[illegible] Sutaquison was a Pima settlement on the Gila between Casa Grande and a point 10 miles below. Kino first visited it in 1694, naming it Encarnacion. It is probably identical with the modern Sacaton or Zacaton. According to Font the population was 5000 in 1775, and although this may be an overestimate it was in all probability the most populous of all the Pima settlements. Also recorded as Sudacson, Sutaguison, etc. The name seems to have a derivation similar to that of Tucson (Styucson), previously noted.—F. W. H.

The evidence that Kino visited Sutaquison and named it Encarnacion in 1694 is positive by Apost. Afan., p. 253, where it is said, in substance, that in Nov., 1694, he undertook a new journey, and penetrated unto the Rio Gila, distant as it were 43 leagues from San Xavier del Bac, between north and west: "to the first rancheria which he encountered, composed of Piman people, he gave the name of Encarnácion; and to another, four leagues further on, that of San Andrés."

[illegible] The Pimas waged vigorous war against the Apaches whenever occasion offered, and there are still among the former tribe many elderly men who bear wounds received during Apache campaigns. Had it not been for the friendly Pimas, many white settlements in southern Arizona would not have found it possible to exist.—F. W. H.

The prowess of the Pimas was more than once felt by their oppressors the Spaniards. Three Jesuit missionaries and various others were killed by them at different times. The earliest victim was Father F. X. Saeta, murdered at Caborca on Apr. 2, 1695 (Apost. Afan., p. 257). The most notable uprising began on Nov. 21, 1751, on which day Fathers Tomás Tello at Caborca and Henry Ruen or Ruhen at Sonoita were killed; this revolt was not finally quelled till 1754. Another important insurrection occurred in 1761, and ran a year or two; this was of of Pimas Bajas and Seris. The Pimas, in fact, in spite of the eloquent protestations of their chief apostle Kino, were almost from the beginning regarded with suspicion by the Spaniards, and the logic of events frequently justified such suspicion; but it should be added that they were more than once outraged and of course incessantly oppressed. Since we have owned the country I do not think we have ever had trouble with either Pimas or Papagos in Arizona.

* Mocteruma is a compromise between the proper name and our familiar corruption, Montezuma: thus Bandelier, Amer. Anthrop., Oct., 1892, p. 319, has: "There is no need of proving that the name of the Mexican 'Chief of Men' (Tlaca-tecuhtli) who perished while in the custody of the Spaniards under Hernando Cortés in 1520 was Mo-tecuh-zoma, literally 'Our Wrathy Chieftain.' Bernal Diez [Diaz] del Castillo, an eyewitness and the much-prejudiced author of the 'True History' of the Conquest, is responsible for the corruption into Montezuma, which has since become popular and most widely known. It is interesting how that misspelling has taken hold of the public mind, how it has completely supplanted the original true orthography and meaning. Meaning even is out of place here, for, while *Motecuhzoma* is a legitimate Nahuatl word with a very plain signification, and also a typical Indian personal name, *Montezuma* has no signification whatever; and yet, in Mexico, even the Nahuatl Indians—those who speak the Nahuatl language daily—know only Montezuma, and would hardly recognize the original name as applicable to him, whom they have been taught to call an 'emperor.'"

Ruins of unknown origin became "Montezumas"—not only "houses of Montezuma," but Montezuma himself—in popular speech. "Casas de Montezuma" are mentioned by this name as early as 1664 by Francisco de Gorraez Beaumont and Antonio de Oca Sarmiento, speaking of those then recently discovered in northwestern Chihuahua (Bandelier, *l. c.*, p. 320). The most famous of all such edifices is still standing near the Gila, only about a mile and a half south of the river, some nine miles west by south by the road from Florence, in the S. W. ¼ of section 16 of tp. 5 S. of the base line, range 8 E. of the Gila and Salt river meridian; this is the one now visited by Font and Garcés. Its position is almost on lat. 33°; so Father Font made a close observation on this Oct. 31, 1775. Its location is a reservation of about ¾ square m., called by the name of the ruin, set aside from sale or settlement by Executive Order of June 22, 1892, in pursuance of Act of Congress of Mar. 2, 1889. Its literature is extensive; besides what I am about to cite, see Bandelier's Final Rep. in Arch. Inst. Papers, pt. ii, 1892, p. 439 *et seq.*, referring to early Spanish reports; Fewkes in Journ. Amer. Ethn. and Arch., 1892, pp. 177-193; and Mindeleff's elaborate papers in 13th and 15th Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Waiving what has been erroneously adduced of Spanish knowledge of this Casa Grande in the time of Friar Marcos and Coronado, 1539-42, I will note something of the discovery of these ruins by Kino in November, 1694, on the occasion of his first pushing an entrada in Arizona to the Gila. It appears from Apost. Afan., p. 252 *et seq.*, that Kino had heard of the ruin in Nov., 1694, when he undertook a new journey and reached the Gila: "En este sitio se halló una casa grande, y antigua, que aun ahora [1752] permanece, y se assegura, que es de quatro altos; alli cerca se veían otras, que sin duda davan indicio de Poblacion grande, que havia havido en otro tiempo. Añade en su relation el padre Kino, que en otras ocasiones havia oído dezir, y algunas vezes el mismo visto, que mas adelante por los mismos rumbos de Oriente, Poniente, y Norte havia otros vestigios, y ruinas de semejantes Poblaciones"—that is to say, freely, in that Gila locality there was found a house large and ancient, which was still standing when Ortega was writing, in 1752, and was certainly four stories high; that thereabouts were to be seen others which had formerly existed; that Father Kino added in his relation, that on other occasions he had heard it said, and sometimes had seen for himself, that further on in the same directions, east, west, and north, there were yet other remains and ruins of similar settlements. Ortega goes on to speak of the ancient traditions, received by all the historians of New

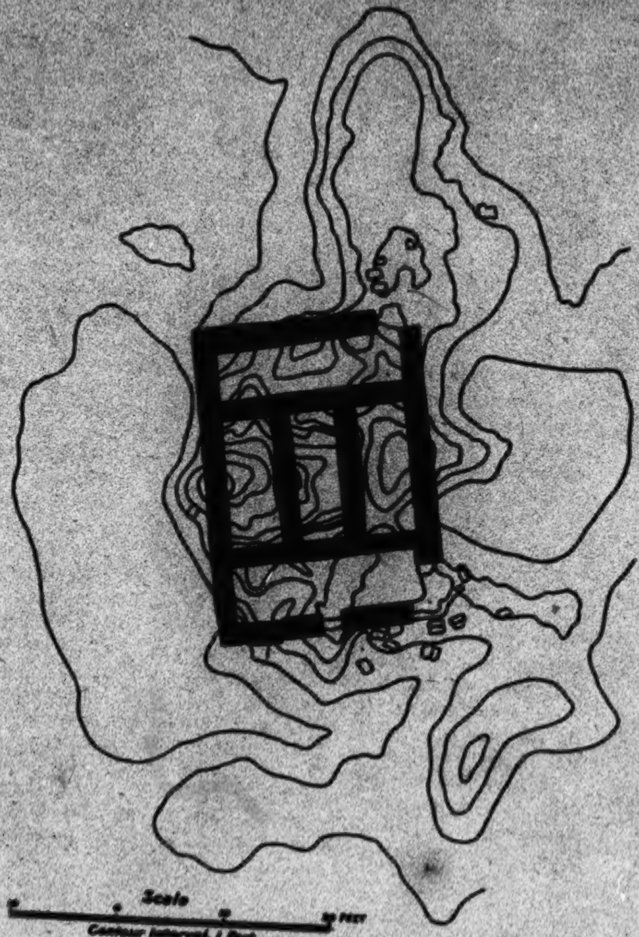
Spain, that through those interior parts came the ancient Mexican nation to seek lands in which to settle, and that this Gila locality was one of their stopping-places, in which they left those houses whose ruins were still recognized. Also, he says, there were existent between Presidio de Janos and Real de Cheguagua other casas grandes, having like relation to the peoples whose transmigration ended with the founding of the City of Mexico. Again, says Ortega, Father Kino is persuaded in his MSS. that this locality is the one which the venerable Padre Frai Marcos de Niza, who claims to have gone all through these lands, calls that of the Seven Cities (*sc.* of Cibola) in a volume he wrote about his peregrinations—which is, of course, a mistake, as that friar was never there. Kino is credited with having said mass in the casa in that autumn of 1694; he was again on the spot in November of 1697, and once more in the spring of 1699. On the occasion of his 1697 visit, his biographer gives the following notice, Apost. Afan., p. 268: "Siguiendo las orillas del mismo Rio Quiburi [now Rio San Pedro] llegaron á las del Gila, y caminando por tres dias rio abaxo . . . vinieron á la Casa grande, de cuya vista mucho se alegraron los Cabos, y los Soldados; admiraronse, que distasse del rio Gila casi una legua en parage falto de agua: cessó en breve su admiracion, quando repararon en una Zanja de seis, ó sieta varas de anchura con los bordos en una, y otra parte de tres varas de alto, que llegava hasta el rio Gila, y proveía de agua no solo las Casas, mas tambien con una gran buelta, que dava á una campiña de muchas leguas de extension, en tierra llana, y pingue: indicava todo esto lo mucho, que años pasados havia servido en dilatadas siembras, y las que en lo venidero se podian hazer alli"—that is to say, in substance, the soldiers wondered at the distance of the house from the Gila in such a dry place, but ceased to marvel when they found what a big ditch extended to the river, sufficing to irrigate all the country round about, etc. The diary of this expedition, by Juan Mateo Mange, who accompanied Kino, is printed in Doc. para Hist.

Mex., 4th ser., i, 1856, pp. 274-291, with ref. to the Casas Grandes on pp. 282-284, for Nov. 18, 1697. *This*, no doubt, is what is quoted by Bartlett, Narr., ii, p. 265, with ref. to a MS. cited in Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes, iii, p. 301. Though Mange was also with Kino on the entrada of 1694, when the Casas Grandes were discovered by Kino, he did *not* share that discovery. But he has been repeatedly quoted as co-discoverer, as by Bartlett, p. 281, relying upon the notoriously inaccurate Schoolcraft, who even credits Mange, an army officer, with saying mass in the famous edifice! If we return to Mange's own diary of 1694, as pub. in the Docs. just cited, pp. 250-259, we find on p. 250 that the heading of Capitulo Tercero, devoted to Kino's third entrada, declares that "ejecutó *por sí* (by himself) el dicho padre al descubrimiento de las Casas Grandes," etc.; while at the end of this chapter, p. 259, there is the following: "En el ínterin de esta campaña mismo mes y año [November, 1694] salió *por sí* el reverendo padre Francisco Eusebio Kino, á descubrir el rio [Gila] y casas grandes dentro de las cuales dijo misa"—went *alone* the Rev. Padre Kino to discover the Gila and Casas Grandes, in which latter he said mass.

From the turn of the century, 1699-1700, we have little further information for about 60 years. Then the author of the Rudo Ensayo, writing in 1762, speaks as follows (I quote the English transl. first pub. June, 1894, in Am. Cath. Hist. Soc., v, No. 2, p. 127): ". . . the Gila leaves on its left, at the distance of one league, the Casa Grande, called the house of Moctezuma, because of a tradition current among the Indians and Spaniards, of this place having been one of the abodes in which the Mexicans rested on their long transmigrations. This great house is four stories high, still standing, with a roof made of beams of cedar or tlascal, and with most solid walls of a material that looks like the best cement. It is divided into many halls and rooms and might well lodge a travelling court. Three leagues distant and on the right bank of the river there is another similar house, but now much demolished, which, from the ruins, can be inferred to have been of vaster size than the former. For some leagues around, in the neighborhood of these houses, wherever the earth is dug up, broken pieces of very fine and variously colored earthen-ware are found. Judging from a reservoir of vast extent and still open, which is found two leagues up the river, holding sufficient water to supply a city and to irrigate for many leagues the fruitful land of that beautiful plain, the residence of the Mexicans there must not have been a brief one."

The foregoing fairly reflects what was known or believed concerning the Casas Grandes, down to the date of our author's visit to the ruins with Father Font. Font's original report, in Spanish, has never been published; but a French translation, from some clerical copy of Font's Diary, appeared in Ternaux-Compans, Voyages, etc., 8vo, Paris, 1838, vol. ix, appendix, art. vii, pp. 383-386, headed "Notice sur la Grande Maison Dite de Moctecuzoma." *This* appears to be the basis of the account in English in Bartlett's Narrative, etc. Ternaux-Compans was a careless if not an incompetent editor of Spanish; there is always a suspicion that what he sets forth in French is not exactly what his Spanish author says in the original. I made a careful translation of the French at Santa Fé, Sept. 4, 1898, but on comparing it with Font's Diary I find it a loose paraphrase. With Font's own handwriting before me, I give it in as close a translation as I can make—as nearly word for word as English idiom will admit. At date of Tuesday, Oct. 31, Font says:

"Determined the señor comandante to-day to rest the people from the long journey of yesterday, and with this we had an opportunity of going to examine the Casa grande, that they call of Moctezuma, situated at one league from the river Gila, and distant from the place of the laguna [Camani, where they had camped] some three leagues to the eastsoutheast; to the which we went after mass, and returned after midday, accompanied by some Indians, and by the Governor of Uturitúc, who on the way told us a history, and tradition, that the Pimas Gileños conserve from their ancestors concerning said Casa grande, which all reduces itself to fictions (*patrañas*) mingled confusedly with some catholic truths, the which I will notice hereafter. I observed this place of the Casa grande, marked on the Map, which afterward I drew, with the letter A, and I found it without correction in 33.° 11.′ and with correction in 33.° 3.′ ½. [Ternaux-Compans has 33° 30′ by mistake—*read* 33° 03′ 30″.] And thus I say: In the Casa grande of the river Gila, day 31 of October of 1775: meridional altitude of the lower limb of the sun: 42.° 25.′ We examined with all care this edifice, and its vestiges, whose ichnographic plan is that which here I put [pen-and-ink ground plan of the Casa, oriented, 10⅞ x 6¼ inches, faces p. 20 of the bound MS.]: and for its better understanding I give the description and explication following: The Casa grande, or palace of Moctezuma will have from foundation some five hundred years according to the histories and scanty notices that there are of it, and the Indians give; because, as it appears, the Mexicans made this foundation when in their transmigrations the devil took them through various lands until they arrived at the promised land of Mexico, and in their sojourns, which were long, they formed settlement, and edifices. The site on which is found this Casa is level in all directions, and apart from the river Gila about one league, and the ruins of the houses which formed the settlement extend more than a league to the east and the rest of the winds; and all this ground is strewn with pieces of jars, pots, plates, &c., some plain, and others painted of various colors, white, blue, red, &c., an indication that it was a large settlement, and of a distinct people from the Pimas Gileños, since these know not to make such pottery. We made an exact inspection of the edifice, and of its situation, and we measured it with a lance for the nonce, which measurement I reduced afterward to geometrical feet, and a little more or less it is the following: The Casa is an oblong square (*quadrilongo—un carré long*), and perfectly to the four cardinal winds, east, west, north, and south, and roundabout (*al rededor*)


Scale
FEET
Contour interval, 1 Foot.

GROUND PLAN OF CASA GRANDE (AFTER MINDELEFF)

are some ruins, which indicate some enclosure or wall (*cerco ó muralla*), which surrounded the house and other buildings particularly at the corners (*esquinas*), where it seems there was some structure like an interior castle, or watch-tower, for in the corner which falls on the southwest there is a piece of groundwork with its divisions and an elevation (*un pedaso en pie con sus divisiones, y un alto*—remains of basement and wall). The exterior enclosure has from north to south 420. feet, and from east to west 260. The interior of the Casa is composed of five halls, the three equal in the middle, and one at each extremity larger. The three [middle] halls have from north to south 26. feet, and from east to west 10. The two halls of the extremities [one at each end] have from north to south 12. feet, and from east to west 38. The halls have of height some 11. feet, and all are equal [in this respect]. The doors of communication have of height 5. feet, and of width 2. and are all about equal, except the four first [outer ones] of the four entrances, which it appears were twice as wide (*otro tanto anchas*). The thickness of the interior walls [is] 4. feet, and they are well constructed (*enjarradas*); and of the exterior ones 6. feet. The Casa has on the outside from north to south 70. feet, and from east to west 50. The walls are sloped (*escarpadas*) on the outer side. In front of the door of the east, separated from the Casa, there is another building (*piesa*—piece), which has from north to south 26. feet, and from east to west 18. without [exclusive of] the thickness of the walls. The woodwork was of pine, apparently (*por lo que se ve*), and the sierra most near, which has pines, is distant some twenty and five leagues; and also has some mezquite. All the edifice is of earth, and according to the signs, it is a mud-wall made with boxes of various sizes (*es tapia fabricada con casones de varios tamañes, i. e.*, is built of puddled earth in blocks of various sizes). There comes from the river, and from quite afar, an acequia very large, with which was supplied with water the population, and it is now very blind (*cegada, i. e.*, indistinct.) [Some translate this "almost dry"!]. Finally, it is known that the edifice had three stories; and if is truth that which can be found out from the Indians, and according to the indications that are visible, it had four, the basement of the Casa deepening in the manner of a subterranean apartment. To give light to the apartments, there occurs no more than the doors, and some circular openings in the midst of the walls which face to the east and west, and the Indians said that through these openings (which are pretty large) looked out the Prince, whom they name El Hombre Amargo [*l'homme déplaisant*, the 'ugly man,' *i. e.*, our wrathy chieftain Motecuhzoma] upon the sun when it rose, and set, to salute it. There are found no traces of staircases, from which we judged that they were of wood, and were destroyed in the conflagration which the edifice suffered from the Apaches."

Thus far Font with his excellent description. He goes on with two and a half pages of the yarn which the governor of Uturituc spun for him in the Pima tongue, translated as they went along by one of Anza's servants. But this is dreary rubbish, which it would be neither entertaining nor edifying to set forth; and so I refrain. When Lt. Col. W. H. Emory came by in November, 1846, he found an Indian who told him the fact about these buildings: "We know, in truth, nothing of their origin. It is all enveloped in mystery" (Report, etc., p. 83; with a plate of the main Casa Grande and the two adjoining buildings, from the sketch made by J. M. Stanley, artist of the expedition, whose many paintings, mostly Indian portraits, were destroyed by the partial burning of the Smithsonian Institution, Jan. 24, 1865).

Font's description has been repeatedly quoted or copied, some authors making the strange mistake of citing his dimensions of the exterior enclosure, 420 x 260 feet, as those of the house itself. Bartlett's Narr., ii, p. 280, notices this blunder, after giving a long extract from Font, as far as it goes substantially the same as the above. He visited the spot on July 12, 1852, and has left us a careful description of the ruins as they then were, in comparison with Font of 1775 and Kino of 1694, finding little change during the century and a half; his plate of the three principal ruins faces p. 274, and on p. 276 are the ground plans of two of them and two elevations. I think it well to transcribe his account (Narr., ii, pp. 272-77):

"The 'Casas Grandes,' or Great Houses, consist of three buildings, all included within a space of 150 yards. The principal and larger one is in the best state of preservation, its four exterior walls and most of the inner ones remaining. A considerable portion of the upper part of the walls has crumbled away and fallen inwards, as appears from the great quantity of rubbish and disintegrated adobe which fills the first story of the building. Three stories now stand and can plainly be made out by the ends of the beams remaining in the walls, or by the cavities which they occupied; but I think there must have been another story above, in order to account for the crumbling walls and rubbish within. The central portion or tower rising from the foundation, is some eight or ten feet higher than the outer walls, and may have been several feet, probably one story, higher when the building was complete. The walls at the base are between four and five feet in thickness; their precise dimensions could not be ascertained, so much having crumbled away. The inside is perpendicular, while the exterior face tapers towards the top, in a curved line. These walls, as well as the division walls of the interior, are laid with large square blocks of mud, prepared for the purpose by pressing the material into large boxes about two feet in height and four feet long. When the mud became sufficiently hardened, the case was moved along and again filled, and so on until the whole edifice was completed. This is a rapid mode of building; but the Mexicans seem never to have applied it to any purpose but the erection of fences or division-walls. The material of this building is the mud of the valley, mixed with gravel. The mud is very adhesive, and when dried in the sun, is very durable. The outer surface of the wall appears to have been plastered roughly; but the inside, as well as the surface of all the inner walls, is hard finished. This is done with a composition of adobe, and is still as smooth as when first made, and has quite a polish. On one of the walls are rude figures, drawn with red lines, but no inscriptions. From the charred ends of the beams which remain in the walls, it is evident that the building was destroyed by fire. Some of the lintels which remain over the doors are formed of several sticks of wood, stripped of their bark, but showing no signs of a sharp instrument. The beams which supported the floors, were from four to five inches in diameter, placed about the same distance apart, and inserted deeply in the walls.

"Most of the apartments are connected by doors, besides which there are circular openings in the upper part of the chambers to admit light and air. The ground plan of the building shows that all the apartments were long and narrow, without windows. The inner rooms, I think, were used as store-rooms for corn; in fact, it is a question whether the whole may not have been built for a similar purpose. There are four entrances, one in the centre of each side. The door on the western side is but two feet wide, and seven or eight high; the others three feet wide and five in height, tapering towards the top,—a peculiarity belonging to the ancient edifices of Central America and Yucatan. With the exception of these doors, there are no exterior openings, except on the western side, where they are of a circular form. Over the doorway corresponding to the third story, on the western front, is an opening, where there was a window, which I think was square. In a line with this are two circular openings.

"The southern front has fallen in several places, and is much injured by large fissures, yearly becoming larger, so that the whole of it must fall ere long. The other three fronts are quite perfect. The walls at the base, and particularly at the corners, have crumbled away to the extent of 12 or 15 inches, and are only held together by their great thickness. The moisture here causes disintegration to take place more rapidly than in any other part of the building; and in a few years, when the walls have become more undermined, the whole structure must fall, and become a mere rounded heap like many other shapeless mounds which are seen on the plain. A couple of days' labor spent in restoring the walls at the base with mud and gravel, would render this interesting monument as durable as brick, and enable it to last for centuries. How long it has been in this ruined state, is not known; we only know that when visited by the missionaries a century ago, it was in the same condition as at present.

"The exterior dimensions of this building are 50 feet from north to south, and 40 from east to west. On the ground floor are five apartments. Those on the north and south sides extend the whole width of the building, and measure 32 by 10 feet. Between these are three smaller apartments, the central one being within the tower. All are open to the sky. There is no appearance of a stairway on any of the walls; whence it has been inferred that the means of ascent may have been outside.

"On the south-west of the principal building is a second one in a state of ruin, with hardly enough of the walls remaining to trace its original form. The accompanying ground-plan will show what portions of the walls are standing. The dark lines represent the erect walls, the faint lines the heaps of fallen ones. The central portion, judging from the height of the present walls, was two stories high; the outer wall, which can only be estimated from the debris, could not have been more than a single story.

"Northeast of the main building is a third one, smaller than either of the others, but in such an utter state of decay that its original form cannot be determined. It is small, and may have been no more than a watch tower. In every direction as far as the eye can reach, are seen heaps of ruined edifices, with no portions of their walls standing. To the northwest, about 200 yards distant, is a circular embankment from 80 to 100 yards in circumference, which is open in the centre, and is probably the remains of an inclosure for cattle. For miles around these in all directions, the plain is strewn with broken pottery and metates or corn-grinders. The pottery is red, white, lead color, and black. The figures are usually geometrical and formed with taste, and in character are similar to the ornaments found on the pottery from the ruins on the Salinas and much further north. Much of this pottery is painted on the inside, a peculiarity which does not belong to the modern pottery. In its texture too, it is far superior. . .

"The origin of these buildings is shrouded in mystery . . . One thing is evident, that at some former period the valley of the Gila, from this ruin to the western extremity of the rich bottom-lands now occupied by the Pimos and Coco-Maricopas, as well as the broad valley of the Salinas, for upwards of 40 miles, was densely populated. The ruined buildings, the irrigating canals, and the vast quantities of pottery of a superior quality, show that, while they were an agricultural people, they were much in advance of the present semi-civilized tribes of the Gila."

As Bartlett says, the origin of these and of other noteworthy pueblo ruins scattered over the entire Gila-Salado-Verde drainage is as yet unknown; but Mr. Hodge thinks it not unlikely that investigations now being conducted by Dr. J. Walter Fewkes under the auspices of the Bureau of American Ethnology will, within the next few years, prove beyond reasonable doubt that some at least are the remains of buildings erected by certain Hopi (Tusayan or Moki) clans of undoubted southern origin.

Accounts of Casa Grande as an object of tourists' curiosity, more modern than most of those above cited, are of course innumerable; several plates have been published, and photographs are easily accessible. In general, these popular notices are fairly good descriptions, but historically worthless or per-

CASA GRANDE IN 1890, LOOKING WEST

From a photograph by Victor Mindeleff

nicious. The best monographs by far are those of Cosmos Mindeleff, entitled Casa Grande Ruin, in 13th Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn., pp. 289-319, pll. li-lx, and The Repair of Casa Grande Ruin, Arizona, in 1891, in 15th Ann. Rep., pp. 315-349, pll. cxii-cxxv.

The first of these papers opens with the location and character of the ruin, after which a brief survey of its position in literature is given, and then an extremely careful and minute description of the main house and collateral ruins of the group, in the state of dilapidation in which they were found when visited by Mr. Mindeleff in 1890. Among the plates the most important in some respects is the first accurate ground plan ever published, showing that Casa Grande is by no means oriented as Font and others supposed. We reproduce this plate, together with a general view of Casa Grande, by the kind permission of Major J. W. Powell, director of the Bureau.

The second monograph gives a complete account of the repairs authorized by Act of Congress of March 2, 1889, for which the sum of $2,000 was appropriated and duly expended. Several plates show what has been done in the way of clearing out debris, underpinning and bracing walls, filling in openings, etc. Rev. Isaac T. Whittemore is at present the official custodian of what has been well styled "one of the most noteworthy relics of a prehistoric age and people remaining within the limits of the United States."

CHAPTER III.

DOWN RIO GILA TO YUMA, NOVEMBER, 1775.

Nov. 1. We departed from the laguna [Camani], and having marched 4 leagues westnorthwest we arrived at the Rancheria de San Juan Capistrano,[1] where we were received by about a thousand Indians[2] drawn up in two ranks. They had built a large bower (*ramada*)[3] in which to entertain us, in front of which had they set up a cross. Soon as we dismounted they passed from one to another to kiss our hand,[4] and saluted us in the name of God, as do all the other Christian Pimas. Since whenever [*i. e.*, in 1768, 1770, 1771, 1774] I have been among these poor gentiles they have received me with equal kindness, I have felt deep grief to find that I could not gratify such great desire as they manifested to become Christians; but on this occasion particular was my pain to see so many people unite in begging us to remain here to baptize them, who in plenitude of affability and mode of living together in their

---

[1] Otherwise Uturituc: see previous note [m], p. 87. Font has it in full, San Juan Capistrano de Vturituc. This place was at or near the modern Sacaton, a mile or so S. of the Gila, on the reservation, in what would be tp. 4 S., range 6 E. It was also called Tutunitucan or Tutiritucar, and more fully San Juan Capistrano de Uturituc or Utilltuc. The saint named was Giovanni di Capistrano or Johannes Capistranus, a Franciscan monk, b. in the Abruzzi, Italy, June 24, 1386, d. at Illock in Slavonia, Oct. 23, 1456, and canonized 1690. Oct. 31 is his day. He wrote a book called Speculum Conscientiæ, crusaded in 1443 under Pope Nicholas V. in Hungary and Bohemia against Hussites, and he also in 1456 led an army of crusaders to the relief of Belgrade, besieged by Mohammed II. A mission in California took his name Nov. 1, 1776, and still bears it.

[2] This is not to be taken as the population of the place. Anza puts the figures at 300. There were doubtless a good many natives from other settlements gathered there to see the whites, whose great medicine were the crucifix, a cloth with Holy Mary on one side and a lost soul on the other, a breviary that

---

told how such medicine operated, and a magic compass-needle that showed the Spaniards where to go.

[3] *Ramada*, for *enramada*, to translate which "bower" may seem like taking poetic license with such a prosaic affair as was the sort of hut or shed which the Indians built with branches of trees to accommodate their guests. Another local name of such a structure is *wickiup*.

[4] It is extremely doubtful if the natives actually kissed the hands of the Spaniards; more probably, as a greeting of friendship inspired by religious fervor, the Indian grasped the hand of the priest, drew it toward his own mouth, inhaled from it the "breath of life," and then passed the clasped hands toward the mouth of the Spaniard, who was supposed to do the same. This custom, which is still common among the Zuñis at least, may be regarded rather as a religious greeting than as a mere gesture of courtesy.—F. W. H.

pueblo surpass all others of their nation; as it does not appear that the time has come to gather these sheep (*ovejas*) into the fold of the church. May God do that which may be to his greater pleasure! They waited upon us and were obsequious to the whole expedition. They possess flocks (*ganado menor*)[5] very like those of Moqui, or much the same, as I will tell in the final reflections on the Diary. They have poultry (*gallinas*)[6] and horses, some of which they bartered (*cambalacharon*) with the soldiers for red baize (*bayeta*).[7] They brought water for the party to drink, and served us in all respects as well as the most faithful Christian vassals of the king could have

---

[5] *Ganado menor*—literally "minor stock," *i. e.*, sheep, goats, or donkeys, as distinguished from *ganado mayor*, cattle or mules, *ganado de cerda*, swine, etc.

[6] "A few chickens and dogs were seen [among the Pimas], but no other domestic animals, except horses, mules, and oxen." (Emory's Reconn., p. 85.) All of these were obtained originally from the Spaniards. The neighboring Maricopas had a few ducks.—F. W. H.

[7] *Bayeta* is a bright scarlet woolen cloth with a long nap, which was originally manufactured in Spain, imported into Mexico, and thus found its way among the southwestern Indians until it became an article of commerce in eastern United States. Formerly the Navaho and Pueblo Indians unraveled the bayeta and used the weft in the manufacture of their finest blankets; but the introduction of cheaper yarns and the more common use of the native wool have practically put an end to the use of this material. The Pimas used it for making blankets worn by both men and women. The only textiles manufactured by these Indians at present are baskets, splen-

didly made and well decorated by interweaving ingenious frets in black.—F. W. H.

Regarding spinning and weaving cotton, the Rudo Ensayo says, p. 185: "In these things they take a pride and a pleasure, while the Pimas of the mountains make their women work in the fields, and they themselves spin and weave, although this is a woman's trade. With the instruments that these women employ, the best weavers in the world could not do better. They weave however with a kind of rude beauty. Their spun cotton is a good but rough imitation of the table cloths and napkins made in Germany, which on this account are called Alemaniscas. They also imitate ticking and any other thing they see, provided they are allowed to undo the warp of the model."

The primitive loom of the Pimas is thus described by Emory, Reconn. of 1846-47, Ex. Doc. No. 41, 1848, p. 85: "A woman was seated on the ground under the shade of one of the cotton sheds. Her left leg was tucked under her seat and her foot turned sole upwards; between her big toe and the next was a spindle about 18 inches long, with a single fly of four or six inches. Ever and anon she gave it a twist in a dexterous manner, and at its end was drawn a coarse cotton thread. This was their spinning jenny. Led on by this primitive display, I asked for their loom by pointing to the thread and then to the blanket girded about the woman's loins. A fellow stretched in the dust sunning himself, rose up leisurely and untied a bundle which I had supposed to be a bow and arrow. This little package, with four stakes in the ground, was the loom. He stretched his cloth and commenced the process of weaving."

A fuller account of the Pima loom, with figure of an Indian in the act of weaving, occupies pp. 225, 226 of vol. ii of Bartlett's Narrative: "The implements used by these tribes for spinning and weaving are of the most primitive character. A done. They were given tobacco and glass beads (*abalorio*).[8]

Nov. 2. After the 3 padres had celebrated nine masses, which some Indians attended, we traveled 4 leagues west ¼ northwest, and halted on the bank of the Rio Gila near the pueblo called La Encarnacion del Sutaquison.[9]

---

slender stick about two feet long passing through a block of wood which serves to keep up the momentum imparted to it, constitutes the spindle. One end of this rests on a wooden cup inserted between the toes, and the other is held and twirled by the fingers of the right hand; while the left hand is occupied in drawing out the thread from the supply of cotton, which is coiled upon the left arm in loose rolls. In weaving, the warp is attached to two sticks, and stretched upon the ground by means of stakes. Each alternate thread of the warp is passed round a piece of cane, which, being lifted, opens a passage for the shuttle in the manner of a sley. The operator sits in the fashion of a tailor, and, raising the sley with one hand, with the other passes the shuttle, which is simply a pointed stick with the thread wound upon it, between the threads of the warp. The work is beaten up after the passage of each thread by the use of a sharp smooth-edged instrument made of hard wood. . . . The weaving is generally done by the old men."

[8] There is no reason to suppose that these beads differed greatly from those which the Pimas still wear in profusion as necklaces and ear-pendants. They are usually ordinary Venetian glass beads, turquoise blue in color, although other tints are also employed. A blue bead of this description was found in the ruin of Halona, at Zuñi, one of the Seven Cities of Cibola, which was abandoned about 1680.—F. W. H.

[9] For the name, see a previous note. Bartlett, ii, p. 268, quot-

There came forth to receive us the Indians of the pueblo with demonstrations of much joy, and methought that they might be about 500 souls. In all these pueblos they raise large crops of wheat, some of corn (*maiz*), cotton, calabashes, etc., to which end they have constructed good acequias,[19] surrounding

---

ing Font's Journal for Nov. 1 and 2, gives the name as Sutaguison; but the *q* is plain in Font's handwriting before me. The Rudo Ensayo, 1762, Engl. trans. 1894, p. 129, speaks of two important Pima rancherias on opposite sides of the river, one called Tusonimó, and "the other, Sudacson or the Incarnation, where the principal of their chiefs, called Tavanimó, lived"—besides a third further down, Santa Theresa (*sic*), at a copious spring of water. I do not think Sutaquison can be exactly located now, especially as different itineraries of this trip give the distance from the last place as either 2 or 4 leagues. But we cannot be much out of the way if we set Sutaquison on the Gila not far from the place now called Sweetwater, the settlement next below Sacaton. It may, however, have been a little further along, near the place now known as Store.

[19] It would take us too far to go into the matter of Pima agriculture by means of irrigating canals—the acequias of the text: see Hodge's Prehistoric Irrigation in Arizona, Amer. Anthrop. vi, pp. 323-330, July, 1893. The Rudo Ensayo has a misleading statement, p. 128: "Their irrigating canals, leading from the river and some springs, are well planned, the Indians undoubtedly having been taught how to build them by Father Kino and other missionary fathers of the Society of Jesus, in their apostolic visits made from 1694 to 1751"! This is loyal faith, but not fact; for ages before any white man entered Arizona immense acequias had been constructed by the builders of Casa Grande or their ancestors—works comparable in magnitude and effi-

the fields (*milpas*) in one circuit common (to all), and divided (are) those of different owners by particular circuits. Go dressed do these Indians in blankets of cotton (*fresadas de algodon*)[11] which they fabricate, and others of wool, either of their own sheep or obtained from Moqui. Not is this portion of the river

---

ciency to the greatest of the present-day irrigating systems, which have altered the whole hydrography of the Gila-Salado-Verde water-shed—some of these modern ditches utilizing portions of the prehistoric ones! But the Rudo Ensayo is about right in saying, *l. c.*: "Between these Casas Grandes, the Pimas, called Gilenos, inhabit both banks of the river Gila, occupying ranches for ten leagues further down, which as well as some islands are fruitful and suitable for wheat, Indian corn, etc. So much cotton is raised and so wanting in covetousness is the husbandman, that, after the crop is gathered in, more remains in the fields, than is to be had for a harvest here in Sonora—this upon the authority of a missionary father who saw it with his own eyes in the year 1757." The Moquis were noted for their cotton and weaving from the earliest times of which we have Spanish records (1540).

[11] "The dress of the men consisted of a cotton serape [fresada, blanket] of domestic manufacture, and a breech cloth . . . The women wore nothing but the serape pinned about the loins, etc.," Emory, Reconn. 1848, p. 84. The same styles of garments were worn until very recently, when town ordinances prevented the entrance into white settlements of Indians only partially clad. The men are now adorned with overalls, the women with calico skirts to or below the knees and a camisa or chemisette hanging loosely somewhat below the waist. Pimas still sometimes wear sandals with soles of rawhide, but not moccasins.—F. W. H.

abounding in pasturage (*de pastos*), but in this last pueblo called Sutaquison there is abundance, even to maintain a presidio, as has reported Señor Capitan Don Bernardo de Vrrea,[12] having passed personally to inspect the situations most fit for founding missions. In this Pueblo de Sutaquison and in San Juan Capistrano I manifested to the Indians the image of Maria SSma and that of the damned, and explained them in their language, which is the same as that of my pueblo (de San Xavier del Bac).

Nov. 3. Padre Font and I went from the place where we had camped to the Pueblo de Sutaquison, to distribute tobacco and glass beads. We returned to camp, and having gone 2 leagues northwest arrived at some pools of bad water, where some of our party were made sick, and for that were they called Las Lagunas del Hospital.[13] To the west of these lagunas is the Sierra de San Joseph de Cumars,[14] which ends on the Gila close to (*junto*) the place where this river is united with the Rio de la Asumpcion.[15] This river is much larger than the Gila,

---

[12] I have failed to trace the officer of whom Garcés speaks, and the only mention of a contemporary Bernardo de Urrea I have happened upon is in Bancroft, North Mex. States, i, p. 569, who speaks of one of that name as a colonel on duty at Altar, Mar. 32, 1767, citing Cancio, Cartas, 1881-83, regarding operations at Guaymas. See chap. v, note [4], Jan. 3, beyond.

[13] The Hospital lagoons are hardly identifiable with requisite precision by the data the text affords, but I cannot doubt that they are the place well known since the American occupancy as Maricopa Wells, six miles west of Sacaton station on the Maricopa and Phœnix railroad. Observe that "lagunas" and "wells" are both *plural*—the only case of the kind hereabouts.

This is as far down the Gila as Garcés goes before striking across country to cut off the Great Bend. But there is one old name of a place to be identified in this vicinity, if possible. This is the San Andrés of Kino, more fully San Andrés Coata. As early as 1694, according to the Apost. Afan., p. 253, Kino visited and named both Encarnácion (Sutaquison) and San Andrés, the latter being given as 4 leagues below the former, both being Piman rancherias. Again, in 1699, coming up the Gila, Kino is said by the same authority, p. 276, to have discovered a Rio Azul, before reaching his San Andrés, which was therefore above the mouth of Salt river, these two names being of the same river. Unfortunately, the distance of San Andrés above Salt river is uncertain, as the various indications we have are vague or discrepant; but I think it was near Maricopa Wells, if not at that very spot; in which latter contingency, it would be identical with Garcés' Lagunas del Hospital. Garcés found nothing here; and on Nov. 28, beyond, where he first speaks of San Andrés, he says that it was then depopulated.

[14] These mountains, designated by the curiously mongrel name San Joseph de Cumars, are the Sierra de Estrella, or Estrella or Star range, sometimes lettered Santa Estrella mts., extending some 20 m. about N. W. and S. E., parallel with the Gila, on its left side, and for the most part above the confluence of Salt river, near which the mts. end, as text says. There is a similar range across the Gila, running down to the point between this and Salt river. Font on the 8th applies the name Sierra de Comars to the Maricopa Divide: see beyond, note [32].

[15] Or Rio de la Asuncion; present Rio Salado or Salt river,

which becomes very much (*muchisimo*) swollen in the summer by reason of the snows that there are in the sierras in which it rises and through which it flows, of which I will speak at the conclusion of the Diary. This position is found in 33° 14′ 30″. Here we remained the 4th, 5th, and 6th days.[16]

Nov. 7. We departed from Las Lagunas (del Hospital); and having gone 6 leagues—1 southwest, 2 westsouthwest, 3 west—we halted in an arroyo[17]

---

the main branch of the Gila: see a note beyond, at date of Nov. 28.

[16] We are elsewhere told that the detention of three days was caused by the sickness of a woman. Font gives all the particulars, and various things happened. On the 4th, it being the day of San Carlos, and so of the King of Spain, Font and Eixarch said mass "with all possible solemnity," and Garcés sang. When they were ready to march the woman was too sick. Then the señor comandante gave the troops a treat, which amounted to a pint of aguardiente apiece, with which they had a bigger drunk than usual (*una borrachera mas que mediana*), and some of them kept up the spree two days. On the 5th and 6th there was more sickness, apparently colic. Font was taken down with tertian ague, which he did not throw off till he had crossed the Colorado. The morning of the 6th, after mass, he passed in the tent of the commanding officer, drawing for him a plan of Casa Grande which Anza had desired. This was before he had had a chance to breakfast, and what with the heat of the tent on an empty stomach he presently fell sick with the chill of the fever (*el frio de la calentura*).

[17] *Arroyo* is the most general name of a gully or gulch, less precipitous than the *barranca*, gorge or ravine, much less so than the *cajon*, *caxon*, or *cañon*. An arroyo is generally the

without water. In all these 6 leagues there is good pasturage, though no water.

dry bed of a possible water-course, like a *wady* in Arabian countries, a *nullah* in Indian, a *fiume* in Italian, etc. This is familiarly styled a "wash" in our West and especially Southwest. In fact, the *arroyo sin agua* of the text, oftener called *arroyo seco* or dry arroyo, is the one marked Dry Wash on some of our modern maps, though not shown at all on others; it makes northward with some westing into the Gila, 5 or 6 m. above the place where the similar dry wash of the Hassayampa river comes to the Gila in the opposite direction, from the N. Having left Maricopa Wells and cotoyed or flanked the Estrella range already mentioned, Garcés has come little S. of W. along the old emigrant road to the Dry Wash, where he camps on the spot called Chimney and so marked on some modern maps (not shown on the latest G. L. O. map). The day's march, which takes Garcés out of Pima into Maricopa county, is for the most part parallel with and a little north of the S. P. R. R., ending not far from Montezuma station. This road cuts off the whole of the Great Bend of the Gila, passing directly westward, with considerable inclination southward, from Maricopa Wells to the place on the Gila known as Gila Bend. In the bight of the bend, south of the river, are the Estrella range on the E., then the above described Dry Wash, in the middle, and next on the west the Maricopa range or divide, which Garcés will cross to-morrow. In the course of its bend the Gila receives Salt river at the N. W. corner of the Gila river reservation—a point where the Gila and Salt River meridian crosses the base line of official Land Office surveys. Three miles below this point is the confluence of Agua Fria river—or was, before the Agua Fria W. & L. Co. canal carried off the water westward. From the Salt river junction the Estrella canal meanders the whole bight of the Great Bend; and the lower part of the Bend, S. of

Nov. 8. We marched 9 leagues—2 westsouthwest, 1 west, in order to pass through a gap in a sierra,[18] and the rest westsouthwest with some inclination to the west—and arrived at the Pueblo de los Santos Apostoles San Simon y Judas[19] of the Opa nation,

---

the Hassayampa river and W. of the Maricopa divide, is also meandered by the Gila Bend and Noonan canals.

Font has much description of the Pimas at this date, and among other things a new name. Speaking of the adaptability of these Indians to missionary purposes, because they live in regular towns, he states that within an extent of some six leagues along the Gila there were five pueblos—the four above said on this side, and on the other one which Garcés had called San Serafino de Nabcúb, after Kino. See Venegas' map, i, 1759, for San Serafin, and diaries quoted in Bancroft's Ariz. and N. M., pp. 359, 360, 385, 392, where appear the terms Guactum, S. Serafin, S. Serapin Actum, and S. Serafino del Napcub—all apparently synonymous.

[18] Sierra Maricopa, the Maricopa range or divide already mentioned, intervening between the Dry Wash and that portion of the Great Bend of the Gila which flows on a mean course due S. from the mouth of the Hassayampa to the place called Great Bend, a direct distance of about 24 m.—more by the sinuosity of the stream. Garcés passes the divide by the regular old road through the gap or *puerto* he mentions, elsewhere called Puerto de los Cocomaricopas, a little north of the place where the railroad now goes through. Across the Gila at a distance are the Gila Bend mts. and mesa. Font at this date speaks of going through the gap in the range "which is the Sierra de Comars."

[19] San Simon y San Judas had previously been visited by Anza and Garcés (1774), by whom it was probably given this saint name. The Maricopas called it Upasoitac (Opasoitac, Opar-

or Cocomaricopa,[29] which is the same, who received

---

soitac, Uparsoitac), a name of unknown meaning. It will be observed that this is the first settlement of the Maricopa encountered by the Spaniards coming from the eastward, which definitely fixes the limits of the tribe in that direction at the date given (1775). There was another San Simon y San Judas rancheria (probably Papago) situated in Sonora between the missions of Cocóspera and Busanic, which Kino visited and so named in 1700. The San Simon y San Judas of Anza is suspicously identical with the San Simon de Tuesani of Kino and Mange.—F. W. H.

The village of the Holy Apostles Sts. Simon and Jude—characters who probably need no introduction to my Christian readers, though nobody has succeeded in establishing their respective identities—corresponds to the place at the elbow of the river called Gila Bend; railroad station of this name near there, and also the Gila Bend Indian reservation, six miles square (tp. 5 S., range 5 W., Executive Order of Dec. 12, 1882). Garcés strikes the river on lat. 33° N., at the E. border of this reservation, after a march of about 26 m. The extensive and high-flown name of the place he uses may have been originally imposed by Father Kino during one of his Arizona entradas; but it does not appear on his map of 1701, though there is a "S. Simon Tuesani," perhaps the same place: see also "S. Simon de Tuesani" on Venegas' map of 1757, and "S. Simeon de Tucsani" on the Kino map in Stöcklein's Neue Welt-Bott. It is to be distinguished from a better known San Simon y Judas post in Sonora. It is given beyond (Nov. 28) by Garcés as Vparsoytac, and appears in the Anza-Font itineraries of this trip as S. Simon y Judas de Opasoitac (or Uparsoitac) and also Posociom. It is the spot marked "27" on Font's map of the route.

[29] The Opa, or Cocomaricopa, or Maricopa, tribe belongs to the Yuman stock and therefore speaks a language totally distinct from that of the Pima. The Pima name of the Maricopa

us with great joy. There gathered in this pueblo to

tribe, Awp-pa-pa, (*awp* = "enemy," the Pima name of the Apache) would seem to signify that the Yuman and Piman tribes were not always so friendly as they have been during late historic times, and indeed, farther on, Garcés notes the fact that the Pima and Maricopa were not on amicable terms with the Yuman tribes to the west and north. It is stated that the Maricopa is a direct offshoot from the Cuchan or Yuma, and that they separated from the latter owing to a difficulty arising from an election of chiefs, establishing their settlements somewhat farther up the Gila, the Yuma or Cuchan being settled about its mouth and on the lower Colorado. The Maricopa appear to have trended gradually eastward up the Gila until they came in contact with their old enemies the Pima, with whom they then formed a lasting friendship. According to Bartlett this occurred about 1822, but from Garcés it is learned that the Maricopa as early as 1775 occupied San Simon y Judas, at Gila Bend: see note [11]. Like the Pimas they are agriculturists, and in all their general habits and customs the Maricopas and Pimas are similar. The two tribes have extensively intermarried, although they speak two entirely different languages. There are about 340 Maricopas under the Pima agency in southern Arizona. The Maricopas call themselves Pipátsje, meaning "people"; their Yavapai (Yuman) name is Atchihwa. Other forms of their Piman name occurring in literature are Cocamaricopa, Comari, Cocomarecopper, Cocomarisepa, Cocomiracopa, Cokomaricopa, Comaniopa. Comaricopa, Coro Marikopa, Mapicopa, Maracopa, Marecopa, Miracope, etc.—F. W. H.

After speaking of some ranches of these people on the Gila, the author of Rudo Ensayo says, p. 129: "The other ranches, well known on the South, are Stucabitic, Ojia-taibues, Uparch, Tuquisan, and Sudacsasaba; and, on the other side Tucsasic, and some others less well known—all possessing very rich soil.

see us some 10 hundred[21] souls, and they were given tobacco and glass beads. Here the Indians raise all sorts of grain (*semillas*), and regularly two crops each year, whether the season be good or bad; but apparently (*segun vimos*—according to what we saw) an acequia can be brought from the river,[22] which, as it already has been joined by the Rio de la Asumpcion, always carries much water. These Indians go clothed much like (*casi como*) the Pimas Gileños, of whom they are very good friends and companions in the campaigns that the one and the other make against the Yabipais Tejua, of whom I will speak beyond. Having shown them the Virgin and the lost soul, I preached through an interpreter, because their language is not Pima, but Yuma. I asked them if they wished with all their heart to be Christians and to admit the padres in their land, and they replied very cheerfully, "Yes." Here we remained the 9th and 10th days.

From Tumac, the most remote ranche of this nation, one does not encounter any more towns for forty leagues until this river [Gila] unites with the Colorado."

[21] The MS. has a peculiar way of giving this number, 1000: it is a 10. (with a dot after it) and the circle of the cipher opened on top, making it look like a bad 6.

[22] Not only one, but three large acequias concentrically flow past now—the Estrella, the Gila Bend, and the Noonan canals.

Nov. 11. We went about 2 leagues west, and arrived at a rancheria of Opas Indians which was near the river.[23]

Nov. 12. After going 5 leagues we arrived at rancherias of the same nation which were near the river and which we called (Rancherias de) San Diego;[24] the course was west ¼ northwest.

Nov. 13. Having gone 4 leagues west ¼ southwest we arrived at a place called Aritoac,[25] having crossed the river a little above this locality.

---

[23] One itinerary says 1½ league, and calls the place San Martin rancheria; Font says two leagues short, and has no name. The place was probably within the reservation or township last said, about its W. border, very likely on the spot marked Cotterrell's on some maps. The place is Font's camp mark "28."

[24] One itinerary says 4 leagues only; Font gives same name of San Diego, whose day is Nov. 12. The term was first applied on this occasion. Four or five leagues, following the river, should bring Garcés into the township of range 7 W.; but there is nothing to identify the spot, unless, very likely, it was Kenyon's. In this vicinity are the celebrated Piedras Pintadas or Painted Rocks, covered with native petroglyphs, and for this reason also called Piedras Escritas. They have been known since 1744 at least. Three plates of the petroglyphs illustrate Bartlett's Narr., ii, opp, p. 196, and three others opp. p. 206.

[25] If we adjust the last two days' marches by Cotterrell's and Kenyon's respectively—both likely camping-places, and quite agreeable with the designated "leaguage" (or mileage)—we are brought to-day exactly to the most notorious spot on this portion of the Gila—no other than Oatman's Flat, sad scene of the massacre of Feb. 18, (or in March) 1851, when Roys (or

Nov. 14. Having traveled 4 leagues westsouthwest we arrived at the Agua Caliente.[30] Immedi-

---

Royse) Oatman, his wife, and four of his seven children were murdered, probably by Apaches, a son Lorenzo was left for dead, and two daughters, Olive and Mary Ann, were carried off captives. They were emigrants who had left Missouri in Aug., 1850, and were then traveling alone. Lorenzo recovered; the younger girl, aged 10, died in 1852; Olive, aged 16, was sold to the Mojaves, and ransomed in 1857; she is said to have died in an insane asylum in New York before 1877. Almost all books on Arizona treat of the tragedy: see especially that by Rev. R. B. Stratton, Captivity of the Oatman Girls, etc., 12mo, San Francisco, 1857, pp. 231; 21st thousand, New York, 1859, pp. 290, ills. One of the early accounts may be read in Bartlett's Narr., ii, 1854, pp. 203 and 218. Hinton's Handb. Ariz. has a cut of Oatman's Flat and grave on p. 174. Garcés appears to have crossed the river at or near this flat, just below which on the other side was his Aritoac, so named also in Font, but called Rinconado in another itinerary. This is doubtless the same as Aritutoc of Father Jacob Sedelmair, Sedelmayr, or Sedelmayer, who visited it in 1744 on his way down the Gila: see his Relacion, p. 850. (His name appears as Jacobi Sedalman in Hinton's Handbook, p. 393; Sedlemayer in Bartlett, etc.) The crossing shows on Font's map: see mark "30."

[30] Having come from Aritoac about 10 m. down the right bank, north side of the Gila, to a point at the S. end of the Bighorn mts., which here approach the river, Garcés reaches a precisely identified spot, to be found by the Spanish name he uses on maps of to-day. This Agua Caliente, Ojo Caliente, or Hot Spring is situated almost exactly on lat. 33° in the N. W. ¼, or about the middle of the W. border, of tp. 5 S., range 10 W., in the close vicinity (1½ m.) of King Woolsey's ranche. (He was a famous character in Arizona a generation ago. I knew him in Prescott in 1864-65, when his reputation as an Indian fighter was

ately in this position are the rancherias called of San Bernardino, and they are of the same nation. There

---

great, especially after his infamous "Pinole treaty," in which many Indians, invited unarmed to a feast and council, were treacherously butchered in cold blood.) The spring is near the point of a hill; the Castle Dome canal runs by it; across the river is (or was) Burke's ranche, at a place later and now called Alpha. This long noted spring seems to have escaped Father Kino; but it has been known since 1744, when Sedelmair speaks of it unmistakably as at or near a Cocomaricopa rancheria he called Dueztumac. We hear of it from him still more explicitly on his next entrada, in 1748, when he came down the Gila again, and named the spring, as a fine site for a mission, Santa Maria del Agua Caliente.

Sedelmair's Dueztumac appears to be the same rancheria above called San Bernardino; at any rate, the locations are practically identical; and all authors of the period agree that here was the last (lowest) settlement of the Cocomaricopas. Thus the author of the Rudo Ensayo, writing in 1762, says, p. 129: "These very numerous nations inhabit both sides for a distince of 36 leagues down the river, and at the far end of their territory there is a very abundant spring of hot water, a short distance from the river to the north." Standing at any sufficient elevation in this vicinity, and looking N. W., between the two parallel ranges of the Bighorn and Eagletail mts., which approach the river on S. E. courses, and are about 18 miles apart, we see, at a somewhat greater distance from us, the bold prominences of Cathedral Rock and Sentinel mt. We are also almost upon the W. of Maricopa county, whence Garcés will enter Yuma county on his first move. A plate of the Bighorn range and Gila at this point faces p. 198 of vol. ii of Bartlett's Narrative.

Font's Diary for to-day is explicit concerning Agua Caliente came about 200 souls to visit us. I showed them the pictures, and preached to them, and to the proposition whether (*de que si*) they wished to be baptized and have padres in their land, they answered, "Yes." I proposed to the old men that they join our party, in order that the señor comandante might make in the name of the king a governor and an alcalde;[37] to

---

and may be cited, especially as the name San Bernardino is in question: "This place has a grand spring of hot water, and some small springs of cold water, very good; and there is also grass, though not much, and rather poor, as far as the river, distant from Agua caliente about two leagues. . . The place is open, with a good outlook, but very inconvenient for settlement. On leaving camp (last night's) we climbed some low hills of black rocks heaped up as it were, and of mal pais, until we descended to the river, and were soon upon its borders, or bottomlands, which are very wide, and extend far from it. From the top of the hills we discovered at a great distance the Sierra de la Cabeza del Gigante, which the Indians call Bauquiburi." On the 15th Font stayed, as Garcés says. The governor and alcalde whom Anza made were respectively given the names Carlos and San Francisco. After this function was over, and a semblance of civil government thus set up, "*se intituló este parage y su governacion. San Bernardino del Agua Caliente.*" This fact should be borne in mind; for Anza, on his return trip of 1774, applied the name San Bernardino to a place four leagues further down river, as will be seen by referring to my note for Nov. 16, on p. 126.

[37] An officer allied to a mayor, whose sole function was to direct the civil affairs of a settlement. As almost everything pertaining to the affairs of the natives of a village or a tribe, however, were directed by a religious priesthood or a society

which responded one old man very seriously: "Behold, the justice is to punish the bad; but none of us being bad, for what is the justice? Already have ye

---

of warriors (whose function was also religious), the civil officers appointed or selected had little or no power among their own people beyond the settlement of such petty squabbles and the like as would appear to be below the dignity of the hereditary social or religious priests.—F. W. H.

The Rudo Ensayo, pp. 235, 236, has the following: "The civil government of the Indian towns consists in a Governor and Alcalde, a police officer, and an inferior minister of justice [*topile*]. The governor is elected by the Indians themselves, the Ministering Father being present. By royal decrees accompanying an order of the Royal Court of Guadalajara, dated September 25, 1786 [read 1746?], and a warrant of His Excellency the Lord Viceroy D. Juan Francisco de Guemes y Horcasitas, dated in Mexico on the 25th of November, 1746, the Ministering Father guides the people in this election, so that they may give their votes to someone whose conduct of life will not serve as a stumbling-block but as a check upon evil and a spur for all good [just as Platt and Croker do in N. Y. and Quay in Penn.]. . . The Governor having been elected they proceed in the same manner to elect the Alcalde, and these two officers, together with the ministering father, in the presence of the people, appoint the Police Officer and the Topil [completing the bloom of bossism]. In the same manner a War Captain is chosen. Such is the Senate or body politic of this Indian commonwealth, and it governs the Indians with a view to their own protection and maintenance, and for the preservation of the Royal service [*i. e.*, the spoils system] and of the Church and its Ministers [as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever will be, at the combined hands of priests and politicians who construct and operate a machine]."

seen, Españoles, that we steal not, neither do we quarrel, and though we be with a woman we take no liberty of doing anything wrong." I do not believe all that of their goodness, yet it is certain that this Opa nation is not less serious than the Pima. Having been asked what information they possessed of their ancestors (*antepasados*), they told me about the same things as (*lo mismo poco mas ó menos que*) the (Pimas) Gileños said to the señor comandante, and Padre Font put in his diary, concerning the deluge and creation; and added, that their origin was from near the sea in which an old woman created their progenitors; that this old woman is still somewhere (*quien sabe en donde*), and that she it is who sends the corals that come out of the sea; that when they die their ghost (*corazon*) goes to live toward the western sea; that some, after they die, live like owls (*tecolótes*);[28] and finally they said that they themselves do not understand such things well, and that those who know it all are those who live in the sierra over there beyond the Rio Colorado.[29] The señor comandante made a governor and alcalde, who behaved very haughtily, saying that now their names *would reach* the king; this, perhaps, may cause some jealousy on the part of the (*á vista del*) Captain Palma.[30] Here is where ends this Opa or Cocomaricopa nation, which is all one; though nevertheless some of them are found further down river.[31] It appears to me that this nation will number some 30 hundred souls. We saw, furthermore, that still

---

[28] From the Aztec or Nahuatl word *tecolotl* or *teculutl*, an owl. Some old maps show a place so called near the Arizona and Sonora boundary, and there is one now in New Mexico.

[29] This seems to be commendable as a simple yet comprehensive system of cosmogony and eschatology; it is certainly modest, in disclaiming omniscience, and polite, in respectfully

---

referring the good padre to more authentic sources of information, just over the great river. It is also as credible as most others with which we are acquainted, and more consistent than are the different stories related in early chapters of Genesis.

[30] The most noted Yuma chief of that time: much about him beyond, in his double character of model Christian convert and immodel heathen massacrer. See also my biography of Garcés, *antea*, pp. 11-24.

[31] The extension of the Maricopas varied at different periods. Thus Emory, Reconn., Ex. Doc. No. 41, 1848, p. 89: "we know the Maricopas have moved gradually from the gulf of California to their present location in juxtaposition with the Pimos. Carson found them, so late as the year 1826 at the mouth of the Gila; and Dr. Anderson, who passed from Sonora to California in 1828, found them, as near as one could reckon from his notes, about the place [Gila Bend] we are now encamped in." This statement, however, is controverted by Bartlett, ii, p. 269, who says: "I cannot learn that they were ever on the Gulf; although it appears from the missionary authorities, that there was a band of them on the western bank of the Colorado, 'living in a valley 36 leagues in length, and for the space of 9 leagues, remarkably fertile and pleasant,' who were 'allied to the Coco-Mariocopas of the Gila.'"

continues the peace[32] which the last expedition[33] made through our intervention between this nation and the Yuma, when in order to assure it some of the Opas went down with us to the Yumas, where it was ratified with great rejoicing on the part of each (*de ambas partes*); and thus our assistance, among other good results, has the effect of preventing the innumerable murders which were committed on both sides.[34] From this place word was sent to the Jalchedun[35] nation of our coming, and that they should go down without fear to the Yumas in order to celebrate peace. This position is found in latitude 33° 02′ 30″. The 15th day we remained here.

---

[32] *Las pases*, "peaces," in the plural, a locution we can only render by the paraphrase of the treaties or articles of peace.

[33] The "last expedition" which Garcés mentions is that of 1774, when he and Padre Juan Diaz accompanied Captain Anza with 34 men, 140 horses, and 65 cattle, from Tubac Jan. 8, via Caborca, Sonoita, etc., to Yuma and so on into California, to the mission of San Gabriel near Los Angeles, returning to Yuma May 10 and passing on up the Gila to vicinity of Casa Grande 24th, and home by Tucson and Bac, 26th. Orig. itinerary in Anza MS., Descubr. Sonora á California, año de 1774, etc.; digested in Bancroft, Cal., i, pp. 221-223, from Arricivita, Crón. Seráf., p. 450 *seq.* See also Fourth Entrada of Garcés, *antea*, pp. 38-46.

[34] The sense of the clause is clear, as above; the wording is: "y consuelo nuestro pues entre otros bienes que de aqui se siguen resulta impedir innumerables muertes que de una y otra parte se hazian."

[35] These were the Alchedomas, a Yuman tribe, or more properly a subdivision of the Cocopa, formerly scattered at intervals along the Colorado near the mouth of the Gila and extending above and below the former stream from about its mouth to the

Nov. 16. We traveled 9 leagues westsouthwest, and came to a halt near the river, whose bed is here very broad.[88]

---

vicinity of lat. 33° and perhaps farther northward along the stream on both banks. Their name seems to contain the Cuchan (Yuma) term *ha-eli*, "river" (*Gatschet*). Other forms of the name occurring in literature are Alchedomes, Alchedumas, Alchidoma, Algodomes, Algodones, Algodonnes, Halchedoma, Hudcoadamas, Hudcoadan, Jakechedunes, Jalchedon, Jalchedum, Talchedon, Talchedums. As late as 1852 the remnants of the tribe were located on the Colorado below the mouth of the Gila, where Lieut. G. H. Derby marks "Algodonnes" on his map of 1852. They doubtless soon after became a part of the Yumas, but the name seems to survive in the California settlement of Algodones (as if Sp. "cotton" by corruption), near the Lower California line.—F. W. H.

[88] Continuing down the right bank, north side, of the Gila, about 24 m., Garcés camps at or near Texas hill, in tp. 7 S., range 14 W. This is an isolated elevation close to the river, nearly midway between the points where the Eagletail mts. and the Castle Dome range respectively approach the Gila. The place is Font's camp mark "32." His trail shows a long march to-day, which the other itinerary gives as 7 leagues, not 9, as above; it should also be noted that the published account, as digested in Bancroft, for example, says that San Bernardino is reached to-day—not yesterday, as Garcés has it. There is nothing special to note on this side of the river; on the other, the railroad runs a few miles off, with stations called Aztec, Cristóbal ("Chrystoval" by the kind of Spanish that appears on the

Nov. 17. Having traveled 2 leagues westsouthwest we came upon the river."[37]

Nov. 18. With 4 leagues southwest we halted near

G. L. O. map), and Texas Hill; there also are, or were, places on this side known as Sentinel, Stanwix, and Texas Hill camp.

The difficulty or ambiguity in the case of the name San Bernardino lies simply in the fact that it was applied by Anza to two different places, and disappears on consulting Font's Diary. I have already cited him for the 14th and 15th. Now, on the 16th, he says, in substance: "Left Agua Caliente at 9.30 a. m. and at 4.30 p. m. halted near the river, having come some 9 leagues W. S. W. As this was my bad day, lest the calentura should catch me on the road, the señor comandante let me go ahead with two soldiers, my young fellow, and my two pack-mules; and Padre Fray Thomas [Eixarch] came with me for the same reason, having caught a quartan ague, and this being also his bad day. The day's journey had to be about 4 leagues to the place *that on the last expedition they called San Bernardino*, which is an island that the river makes temporarily (*por poco*) when it rises, where there is grass enough, and some Indian rancherias." The poor padre had a hard time of it to-day; the guide lost the way, and they had to travel 10 leagues; the fever came on him; the guide said he would budge no further in any direction; the boy with the pack-mules got lost alone by himself; and there is no saying what might have happened if Anza, seeing by their tracks that they had gone beyond where he intended to camp, had not sent a sergeant with two men to hunt them up and fetch them into camp.

[37] To-day's advance is given in another itinerary as only 1½ league, and the camp made is there called El Pescadero. It is not an identifiable spot, and we simply hold the expedition in the vicinity of the Texas Hill camp above said. See Font's mark "33."

the river at the foot of the Cerro de San Pasqual.[8]

---

[8] Garcés says nothing of crossing the river on this lap, but Font's map takes the trail from N. to S. of the river (see his camp-marks "33" to "34"), and his Diary says that halfway on the road to-day they passed the river for the second time. This is correct; and we shall recross the river again to get to the Yuma camp on the 28th. Now we are on the S. side, and camp at the foot of Cerro de San Pasqual (better Pascual), which corresponds closely to Mohawk Summit, on the railroad; camp apparently in vicinity of the place called Mohawk, close to the river. Cerro de San Pasqual, so named by Anza on the last trip, 1774, is the modern Mohawk range, otherwise called Sierra de la Cabeza Prieta, or Black Head range, extending S. E. from the Gila to within a short distance of the Sonora boundary, and apparently so named from the Tinaja de la Cabeza Prieta, a watering-place on the road through Mohawk valley to Quitovaquito, Sonora. Font describes it as very rough and rocky, of moderate elevation, and as coming to the river from Papagueria, *i. e.*, from the south. This extensive range is directly in line with another from which it is separated by the Gila; for on the north side of the river the Castle Dome range continues in the same S. E. to N. W. direction. The latter is so named from its most conspicuous summit, known as the Dome, or Dome Rock, or Castle Dome, some 25 m. off the river. The Dome lends its name also to a landing on the Colorado river, by no means to be confounded with the rock or peak itself; and to Castle Dome District, a mining area bounded by this range on the E., Chocolate mts. on the N., the Gila on the S., and the Colorado on the W. Castle Dome range appears to be that sometimes called the Pagoda mts., the date of origin of which name is no doubt found in the following passage of Bartlett's Narr., ii, p. 188, June 20, 1852, when his party had come 39 m. by road up the Gila: "On the northern side of the river, arose a mountain chain about

This locality was found to be in latitude 32° 48'. Here we remained the 19th, 20th, and 21st days.[39]

Nov. 22. Having gone 6 leagues southwest we arrived at the hill that the Indians call Cerro del Metáte;[40] and we, (Cerro) de Santa

---

12 miles distant, presenting a continuation of fantastic summits, among which were three resembling the tops of Hindu pagodas. I took a sketch of these singular mountains; although at such a distance, but little more than the outlines could be discerned." A lettered plate of "Pagoda mountain" faces the page cited.

[39] For the 19th Font says that last night a woman happily gave birth to a boy, on which account the expedition remained; after mass he solemnly baptized the newborn, who was named Diego Pasqual, because the day was the octave of San Diego, and the camp was San Pasqual. He also speaks of the mountains visible at a distance, looking northward, beyond which he was told lived the Jalchedunes; these mountains being evidently the Castle Dome range said in my last note. There came to camp the governor and alcalde who had been appointed such at Agua Caliente, with other Indians, intending to accompany the expedition to the Yumas. On the 20th, the lying-in woman was still unable to travel, and Font was much troubled with his passages, besides his fever. On the 21st a soldier found across the river a deposit of very fine salt, white as snow, with which the troops were supplied abundantly. The cold was intense, and there was not wood enough for fires.

[40] From the Aztec or Nahuatl *metlatl*. A stone usually 18 in. or 2 ft long and about a foot wide, of sandstone or lava, of varying degrees of coarseness, on which corn (and by the Mexican Indians also cacao) is ground by means of a *mano* or muller, generally of the same material, held in the hands. A coarse metate is usually first employed to crush the corn, then one of finer material, and lastly a metate of still closer grain which produces a fine meal.—F. W. H.

Cecilia.[41] Here were remained the 23d and 24th days.[42]

Nov. 25. Having traveled 5 leagues west ¼ northwest, we arrived at the edge of a saline lagoon (*Laguna salobre*).[43] Here came a Yuma Indian sent by

---

[41] The distances for the 22d vary in different itineraries, and Metáte or St. Cecilia hill is not easily identified. It may be Antelope hill, in the vicinity of Tacna station of the railroad, or possibly Pozo butte. But it may be also noted that there is hereabouts, on the *north* side of the river, a very conspicuous picacho, sometimes called Coronacion, at others Pagoda. Font in one place makes the full name Cerro de Santa Cecilia del Metáte.

[42] On the 23d the pack-trains started, but were ordered back, as it was already past eleven o'clock, and the horse-herd had not been rounded up, the animals having wandered far in search of grass; also, the beef-herd arrived only at this late hour, having been unable to come up the day before. Some of the cattle had died of fatigue, hunger, and cold. The delay of the 24th was occasioned by a pregnant woman, who woke up sick, but was cured by the help of Anza, who took a notion to give her a plate of victuals (*la que se remedió haviendola socorrido el señor comandante con un antojo que tuvo, que fue un plato de comida*—and if I do not mistake the Spanish the padre is satirical).

[43] Garcés does not appear to use the term as a name; but it is given as such, in the form Laguna Salada, by Anza, who makes to-day's leagues 4 instead of 5. Font names Laguna salobre, which he says is about one league from the river from which it is derived. He describes the whole way to-day as subject to overflow when the Gila rises, and without any grass except in the place where they camped, in which there were piles of driftwood and other debris brought down by the river

Captain Palma to assure us that all his people were awaiting us with great eagerness. From here hastened on ahead the Cocomaricopa justices who were accompanying us, and they went to the Yumas.

Nov. 26. With 4 leagues northwest we halted on the bank of the river.[44]

in its formidable risings. The party appears to have come along past the place to be found on some maps by the name of Filibuster, and to have reached a point in the vicinity of what was called Mission camp in the stage-coach days, not far from present Adonde station of the railroad. "Filibuster" is perhaps a reminiscence of the abortive expedition of Henry A. Crabb, 1856-57.

[44] At a point named in the other itinerary as Cerros del Cajon; it is hardly determinable with exactitude, but was in the vicinity of a mining camp once known as Oroville. The name has disappeared with the camp; the nearest I can find to it on maps of to-day is Monitor P. O. It will be observed that to-day is the first decided *north*westing, showing what bend of the river Garcés is descending. Font records that the road yesterday was bad, but to-day worse, following the river and within sight of it, at greater or less distance, over sandy ground subject to overflow. He and Eixarch went fishing, and caught a fish they called matalote, which seemed to be the only kind in the river, and which was no doubt the so-called scaleless Gila "trout." There was found in camp some straw for the horses, and it seemed that some Yumas had lately been ranching there. Font speaks of the Gila range as a rather high sierra, rough, rocky, and arid, which comes from Papagueria to the river; on the other side of which latter is a similar range, of a reddish color; and there, facing camp, was seen a squarish peak with four points, which they called the Bonnet (*El Bonete*).

Nov. 27. Having gone 2 leagues westnorthwest we halted in a very narrow gap (*puerto*)[48] through which flows the Rio Gila. Here came a brother of Captain Palma, and presently also Captains Pablo and Palma,[44] who manifested singular joy, especially Palma, who went about embracing everybody.

---

[48] Los Cerritos is the name given to this place in another itinerary, which makes the distance 3 instead of 2 leagues. The puerto or gap is the place where the river is hemmed in between the Gila range on the S. and other elevations on the N. (See Emory's map.) Font underscores the phrase *Puerto por donde passa el rio Gila recogido,* as much as to say Gila Narrows. This is not far from Gila City, once a notable mining camp, then a deserted village indeed, then in succession a station of the stage road and railroad. Gila City sprang up in 1858 with the discovery of gold placers along the Gila, and may have had a population of 500 at one time; but the diggings were soon exhausted, and in 1862 the place was drowned out. J. Ross Browne's lively description of 1863 is typical of many another mining town: "We camped at Gila City, a very pretty place, encircled in the rear by volcanic hills and mountains, and pleasantly overlooking the bend of the river, with its sand-flats, arrow-weeds, and cottonwoods in front. Gold was found in the adjacent hills a few years ago, and a grand furor for the 'placers of the Gila' raged throughout the territory. At one time over a thousand hardy adventurers were prospecting the gulches and cañons in this vicinity. The earth was turned inside out. Rumors of extraordinary discoveries flew on the wings of the wind in every direction. Enterprising men hurried to the spot with barrels of whiskey and billiard-tables; Jews with ready-made clothing and fancy wares; traders crowded in with wagon loads of pork and beans; and gamblers came with cards and monte-tables. There was everything in Gila City within a few months but a church and a jail, which were accounted barbarisms by the mass of the population. When the city was built, bar-rooms and billiard-saloons opened, monte-tables established, and all the accommodations necessary for civilized society placed upon a firm basis, the gold placers gave out. In

---

other words, they had never given in anything of account. There was 'pay-dirt' back in the hills, but it didn't pay to carry it down the river and wash it out by any ordinary process. Gila City collapsed. In about the space of a week it existed only in the memory of disappointed speculators."

[44] I will cite in full Font's portraiture of this interesting savage and his brother. "On the road there came to receive us a relative of Captain Palma; and as soon as we camped, being at mess, there came to see us Captain Salvador Palma, and another captain, to whom we gave the name Pablo, accompanied by several Yuma Indians, and they saluted us with many demonstrations of contentment, especially Captain Palma, who embraced us all, and presented some beans to the señor comandante, who in the evening took him through camp to visit the people, all of whom he went about saluting, giving an embrace to all, men, women, and children, in token of benevolence. This Captain Palma is he who at present commands in all the Yuma nation, which he has dominated by his intrepidity and verbosity, as commonly happens among Indians, but more by the appreciation of himself which the Spaniards have shown him, in these latter times, now on the part of Captain Ansa, and before that, of Captain Urrea; for which reason the other Captain Pablo recognizes him—he to whom we gave this name because he is captain of the rancherias that there are in the cerrito which Padre Garcés antecedently called San Pablo—the same whom, on account of his ugly looks, on the last expedition they named Captain Feo. The people of the rancherias of this Captain Pablo Feo are more numerous than those of the rancherias of Captain Palma, and he seemed to me to be of as

Nov. 28. Having forded the Rio Gila at (*con*)[47] 5 leagues west ¼ southwest, we halted in a bower

---

much spirit as Palma, if not more, though he is subordinated to the latter. He is a great preacher, with a thick voice, and they say he is also a sorcerer, and to-night he made a grand sermon and long harangue to his people, which amounted to telling them that they must not rob or do any harm to the Spaniards, for these were friends who did no wrong. The señor comandante told me that this Captain Feo, the last time he was with the first expedition [of 1774], set himself to count the soldiers, and seeing they were not many, began to say to his people that it would not be difficult to kill them all and get hold of their horses and everything else the Spaniards had, and such were his intentions; which being learned by the señor comandante, he gave him (Pablo) to understand that if war was wanted, all his people and many others would unite, and he would see how they could defend themselves, and what ill would result; whereupon he (Pablo) forbore; and now he is very obsequious, and has manifested much affection, though then he sought to oppose the passage of the expedition over the rio Colorado."

[47] "*Habiendo vadeado el Rio Gila con 5 leguas . . . paramos en una enrramada,*" etc. The clause is ambiguous as to the crossing-place, but Font makes it clear that they went five leagues along the S. side and then forded the river to the N., within a league of its mouth. Font's words are, "paramos en la Playa del rio Colorado, despues de vadear tercera vez el rio Gila, haviendo caminado unas cinco leguas," etc.—we halted on the shore of the Colorado, after fording for the third time the Gila, having traveled some five leagues: see also his camp-mark "39." "About a league below this place," continues Font, "which is that which on the former expedition [1774] they called the Isla de Trinidad, because then this piece of ground was isolated by the Gila and an arm of the Colorado,

(*enramada*) which Captain Palma had ordered to be built for this purpose. Many very festive Indians of both sexes soon gathered here, and in the presence

though now there is no such island, owing to the shifting of land which the rivers make in their risings, the Rio Gila joins the Rio Colorado." Here we have the expedition, of course, with precision, in a place which received the name of San Dionisio from Father Kino on his entrada of 1700, because he reached it on the Areopagite's day, Oct. 3: "Poco mas adelante en la Rancheria grande de los Yumas del Rio Colorado en terreno mui bueno, y mui immediato al lugar, en que se junta con el Gila, llamado *San Dionisio*, por haver llegado alli dia de este Santo," Apost. Afan., 1754, p. 287. The location is in Arizona, N. of the Gila, E. of the Colorado, opposite the site of Fort Yuma: see Kino's map of 1701, place marked "♂ S. Doonysio 1700"; Venegas' map of 1757, etc. On the edition of "Chino's" map of 1702, with Latin and German names, "S Dionysias 1700" is marked with a mission house as big as any mountain in the vicinity, and so San Dionisio has often been treated as if it were a mission or settlement of whites, which it never was in Spanish times; for the establishments of 1780 were across the river, in California, where Fort Yuma was founded in 1850. Thus even Emory, a strong, able, and usually safe authority, in his Reconn. of 1846-47 (Ex. Doc. No. 41, 1848), p. 95, says: "Near the junction, on the north side [of the Gila], are the remains of an old Spanish church, built near the beginning of the 17th century, by the renowned missionary, Father Kino. This mission was eventually sacked by the Indians, and the inhabitants all murdered or driven off." Here the allusion is evidently to the mission of 1780, destroyed by Palma on July 17, 1781, at Yuma, on the California side of the Colorado, and I have no idea what church ever stood on the Arizona side. The persistence of the fable that Kino estab-of all was confirmed the peace between the two nations, Cocomaricopa and Yuma. About a league

---

lished a mission here is remarkable: what Kino established was a *name*—nothing more. Thus Bartlett, Narr., ii, 1854, p. 183, says: "He established a mission at the mouth of the Colorado [!] and one at the mouth of the Gila. The former did not last many years [never existed]. The latter was in existence as late as 1776, when Fathers Pedro Font and Garces came with a large party from Sonora to replenish the missions of California," etc. But this is obviously wrong; for here we have Garcés on the spot in 1775—nothing there whatever. Unless a hut or two, in which lived a priest or two, on an occasion or two, 1776 to 1779, can be called an establishment, no Spaniards were ever established here or hereabouts till the fall of 1780, and then they built on the west side of the Colorado. Indeed, I do not know that the Arizona site of San Dionisio was ever permanently peopled, except by Yumas, until about 1850. In Nov., 1849, just after the establishment of Camp Calhoun on the Californian side, a ferry was started; there was much emigrant and other travel in 1850-54, and the latter year a paper "city" was surveyed and named Colorado City (later Arizona City). There was only a house or two in 1861, and hardly more than that in 1864 when I was there. Fort Yuma was then flourishing as a military post, and Arizona City, or Colorado City, later called Yuma, had more or less bona fide existence, becoming the county seat in 1871. The railroad came by in 1877, and its station, Yuma, on the S. side of the mouth of the Gila, where the Colorado was bridged, became a permanency. It will be understood that I here speak of the several settlements, including a mile or more on either side of the Gila, from Kino's original San Dionisio to present Yuma of the railroad. The geodetic position of the Gila disembogue is lat. 32° 43′ 32″ N., long., 114° 36′ 10″ W.

further down from this place the Rio Gila joins with the Colorado. The Rio Gila,[44] for all that I have been able to ascertain in my travels, arises in the Sierra del Mogollón,[44] and flows regularly from east to

---

[44] Rio Gila, Hila, Jila, Xila, Chila, also Hela, Helah, Helay, etc., has been longer known than the Colorado itself, and than any other river in Arizona or New Mexico; its present name is comparatively recent, taken from that of some place or region on its upper waters in Apacheria, dating from 1630. It was probably discovered in 1538 by two friars named Juan de la Asuncion and Pedro Nadal; this presumption is strengthened by the name Rio de la Asumpcion long applied to its principal branch, and colored by a statement Garcés himself makes, beyond. The Gila was certainly discovered in 1539 by the negro Stephen, Estévan, or Estebánico, avant-courier of Fray Marcos de Niza en route to Cibola, being crossed also by the latter immediately. Its mouth was passed in 1540 by Hernando de Alarcon, and of course the river was crossed and recrossed by Coronado's expedition, 1540-42, being doubtless the "deep and reedy" stream mentioned by Jaramillo. I do not know what name, if any, the Gila bore from 1539 to 1604, in which latter year it was named Rio del Nombre de Jesus by Juan de Oñate, at the same time that he called the Colorado Rio Grande de Buena Esperanza, on his very memorable entrada from Santa Fé. There is almost silence till we come to Kino's time, when Gila or Hila first appears as a name of the river itself (above the confluence of Salt river, its main fork). The date of this application is said to be 1697, and that is probably about right, though Kino's biographer uses Gila in speaking of his earliest Arizona entrada of 1694. Feb. 27, 1699, is the exact date on which Kino named the Gila Rio de los Apostoles, at the same time he called four of its principal branches Los Evangelistas, and named the Colorado Rio de los Martires. Be the precise Kino dates what they may, his map of 1701 shows "R. Hila" for the main stream *above* Salt river, which latter is marked

---

"R. Azul." We thus have Gila, in the form "Hila," definitely affixed to an upper portion of the stream; it appears as R. Gila on Venegas' map of 1757, but still above Salt river; the date when it first descended to the mouth of the river does not appear. The name Rio de los Apostoles or Apostles' river long stuck to the Gila; thus, it is given on some maps of the present century; for example, the one drawn by Captain Clark at the Mandans and forwarded to President Jefferson on Apr. 7, 1805; and it appears in fuller form Rio Grande de los Apostoles on Vaugondy's map of 1783. The misapplication to the Gila of the name Rio de los Martires, which Kino had bestowed upon the Colorado, and which appears on Humboldt's map, and various others, is of uncertain date, perhaps not prior to the time of Font and Garcés; the latter bestows it upon the Mojave river, as we shall see beyond. Among the changes in names rung by mappists upon Kino of 1701 may be noted the "Tabula Californiæ Anno 1702," whereon "spinnfluss Hila fl." appears for the Gila above Salt river, and "Azul oder Blaufluss" is made the main stream down to the Colorado. For consideration of this case, involving origin of the terms Rio Azul, Rio Salado, and Rio de la Asumpcion for the main Gila tributary, see a following note.

[44] Named for Don Juan Ignacio Flores de Mogollón, native of Seville in Spain, once governor of Nuevo Leon, governor and captain-general of New Mexico, 1712-15. It appears that he was commissioned as such for five years at Madrid Sept. 27, and qualified Oct. 9, 1707, but did not take office till Oct. 5, 1712, when he was installed at Santa Fé, with a salary of $2,000. He is commonly called Governor Flores. He was accused of various things, relieved from duty by the king's order Oct. 5, 1715, and succeeded Oct. 30 by Felix Martinez. Some years

west, though from Vparsoytac[80] it inclines to the westsouthwest. In its course it is joined by (*se le agregan*) the Rios de San Juan Nepomuzeno,[81] de

---

after he had left New Mexico his case was tried in 1721, and went against him, which, however, was of no consequence to him, as neither his person nor any assets could be found. He was an old man, in poor health, of whom we hear no more. (Bancroft, Ariz. and N. M., p. 231, *seq.*) The application of his name to the mountains which still bear it was no doubt during the period of his gubernatorial incumbency; it is also borne by a tribe of Apaches, who are so called from their former habitat on the Mogollon "mesa." The Mogollón mts. of present nomenclature are a range in New Mexico near the Arizona border, not far below the ultimate sources of the Gila. The Mogollon mesa, formerly often mapped as the mountains or range of that name, may be described as the elevated plateau which forms the watershed between the basin of the Colorado Chiquito on the N. and that of Salt river (including the Tonto basin) on the S. The name is frequently spelled Mogoyon, being pronounced in Arizona môgy-yôn' or muggy-yõn', *g* hard and a strong accent on the final long syllable.

[80] Otherwise San Simon y Judas of p. 113: see the note there.

[81] Otherwise John of Nepomucen, Nepomuk, or Pomuk, patron saint of Bohemia, b. at Pomuk, a village in Klatau district, *ca.* 1330, tortured and murdered 1383 or Mar., 1393, regarded as a martyr and miracle worker, canonized by Benedict XIII., Mar. 19, 1729; day fixed for May 16, and still celebrated at Prague. Marne, Vie de St. Jean de Népomucène, Paris, 1741; Abel, Legende des heiligen Johannes von Nepomuk, Berlin, 1855. The identity of two persons is supposed to be confused in the legends and myths which cluster about the name.

San Pedro,[32] de San Carlos,[33] and by that (river) which is doubtless the one traditionally (*en las memorias antiguas*) called Rio de San Francisco[34] and de la Asumpcion; this is composed of two, which are the Verde and the Salado. (The Gila) receives the principal volume of its waters from the Rio de la Asumpcion,[68] which is very much increased by the melting of the snows of the sierra through which it flows. On the banks of the Rio Gila there are cottonwoods, willows, and mezquites. Generally this river is found

---

[32] For this note see p. 152.

[33] The San Carlos is one of the smaller upper tributaries of the Gila, lying wholly in the present White Mountain Indian Reservation between the Gila and Salt river. It is chiefly notable as forming, for most of its extent, a portion of the boundary between Gila and Graham counties, and for giving name to the important San Carlos Agency, once Camp or Fort San Carlos, where the dregs of the Apache dose are now being consumed.

[34] This is simply a blunder of Garcés, confusing the San Francisco with Salt river. The name seems to have been a very early one, and there was much confusion regarding the river which should bear it, in the minds of the comparatively early Spanish writers, for it has been applied to several, even as low down as the Verde. The original application or implication of the term has escaped my search; we may recall in this connection that there were two Sts. Francis, one specially honored by the Jesuits, the other the founder of the rival Franciscan order. The name has properly applied for about 100 years to one of the two initial forks of the Gila, arising in New Mexico in that portion of the Continental Divide represented by the San Francisco range and the Tularosa mts., in the vicinity of old Fort Tularosa. At the same time, the name San Francisco was applied for many years to the Verde. Emory speaks of "where the San Francisco flows into the Salt river" in 1848; and in my own Arizona time, 1864-65, I heard and used this name oftener than I did Verde.

---

[68] Garcés is quite right in composing Assumption river of the Verde and Salado, and in assigning so great a volume of water to their joint stream. They were comparatively well known in his day—quite well known in their lower reaches. Thus the author of the Rudo Ensayo, writing in 1762, says, p. 129: ". . . the Gila . . . receives the waters of the Assumption River, which, eight or nine leagues farther up to the northwest, is formed by two other rivers, taking their rise, according to an account of Father James Sedelmayr [of his travels to the Yumas in 1748], in an extensive ridge of mountains in the land of the Apaches, on the other side of the Gila, farther up towards the east. Of these two branches, one is called Verde, owing to the verdure of the groves which adorn its banks, and the other Salado, because it is salty to such a degree, that after its union with the Verde, and even after joining the Gila, the water for some distance is unpalatable." And again, p. 200: "The river Gila receives the Asuncion, whose two branches, the Verde and the Salado, of which it is composed, come . . . from the mountains of the Apaches and descend, in a southwesterly direction, to the Gila." All of which is quite true, and the nomenclature of the two branches is the same as now, except that we usually say Salt for Salado, and properly consider this the main stream, which we fetch down to the Gila, thus throwing out Assumption river. Now turning to the state of the case a little earlier than the Rudo Ensayo, we find *Rio Azul*, Blue river, to be the recognized name of the joint stream. Thus Ortega, writing the Apost. Afan. of 1754, says of Kino's visit to his Gilan rancherias Encarnacion and San Andrés, in Nov., 1694: "Aqui supieron, que por el rio Gila abaxo al Poniente, y entre Norte, y Poniente *en el rio Azul*, y mas adelante en el rio Colorado viven las Naciones Opas," etc., p. 253. Again, p. 276, noting Kino's entrada of 1699, he says: "descu-

brieron otro rio llamado *Azul*, poblado de muchas frondosas alamedas; juzgaron, que recogeria sin duda sus primeros manantiales en las cercanias de la Provincia del Moqui." I take this passage to indicate the actual discovery and naming of the river, leafy with cottonwoods, and supposed to flow from Moqui, on March 2, 1699. The case is exactly set forth on Kino's map of 1701, where "R. Azul" starts from Moqui by several branches, is joined by one large branch, and brought into the Gila at about the right place, below the Santa Cruz. The Blue name was given from the New Mexican Sierra Azul where the river was supposed to head. This date of Mar. 2, 1699, is almost that on which Kino named the two branches Verde and Salado, lumped these with the Santa Cruz and San Pedro as the Four Evangelists, and styled the Gila itself Rio de los Apóstoles; but we may search these records in vain for a Kinotic Rio de la Asuncion. The date of the latter name, sometimes given more fully as Rio de Nuestra Señora de la Asumpcion or Asuncion, I have been able to trace to Sedelmayr, 1743-44. On Venegas' map of 1757 it appears in due form, "R. Asump.", correctly composed of R. Verde and R. Salado, but brought into the Gila far too low down; while in its proper position "R. Azul" is also given! I have not Venegas' text at hand, nor Sedelmayr's Relacion; but the Apost. Afan., narrating Sedelmayr's entrada of 1743, p. 353, speaks of this padre's descent of the Gila, "que, incorporandosele en aquel parage *el de Assumpcion*, corre bastamente caudaloso." Again, p. 357, referring to Sedelmayr's next entrada, 1744, Ortega speaks of the river "muy caudaloso llamado *de la Assumpcion*, que se compone de otros dos nombrados el Verde, y el Salado; señala el sitio, en que se junta el de la Assumpcion con el Gila," etc. This is conclusive of an Assumption river dating back at least to 1743-44. It is curious to short of grass; but the soil of the rancherias de San Andrés, now depopulated, and that in all the vicinity of Sutaquison, abounds in brushwood and *carriso* (*Phragmites communis?*). There is found in this river no other fish than that which they call matalóte [38]

---

observe that in this very passage Ortega speaks also of a Rio Azul; but *this* one, which Sedelmayr had approached, traveling up the Colorado, was Bill Williams' fork, supposed to come from the Moquis. The origin of the name has been duly noted by Bandelier, Final Rep. pt. i, 1890, p. 113: "Fathers Sedelmair and Keller both visited the banks of the Salado, which they baptized Rio de la Asuncion, and they also examined the lower Verde." The only other nomenclatural point —the process by which this river was sometimes carried down to the Colorado, restricting the name Gila correspondingly—has been already noted. The Verde is the principal river in central Arizona, draining an extensive region south of the San Francisco mountains, but by no means approximating to Moqui, for the basin of the Colorado Chiquito intervenes. The Salado is still larger, with a course approximately parallel with that of the Gila, almost from the New Mexican border. Its earliest name dates from 1539, as it is the stream which Jaramillo, writing of the Coronado expedition, calls Rio de las Balsas, or River of the Rafts, because it had to be crossed by such means: see Hodge, in Brower's Mem. Expl., ii, Harahey, 1899, p. 42. An upper portion of its extent is sometimes called Black river. An alternative name of Rio Salado or Salt river was Salinas; and I have already noted that the Verde was for years called San Francisco river.

[38] From the Nahuatl name of a certain or rather uncertain fish. No doubt those to which Garcés refers were of the genus *Gila*, so named by Baird and Girard in 1853 from the river they inhabit. There are several species, as *G. robusta*, *G. gracilis*, etc.

which is so very savory to the taste, but is troublesome on account of the many bones that it has. On this river is found the Casa (Grande) said to be (*que dizen ser*) of Moctezuma, and very many other ruins, and other edifices with very many fragments of pottery (*cascos de losá* [*sic*, error of the scribe for *losa*]),[87] as well with painting as without it; from what I have seen since (my visit to) Moqui I have formed a conception respecting these structures very different from that which I previously entertained.

Nov. 29. This day was occupied in search of a path, in opening a way through the heavy woods

---

[87] The prehistoric pueblo ruins of the Gila-Salado drainage, some of which, as Casa Grande, still rise to a considerable height above the surface of the sand drift, are usually of adobe; where stone was available for structural purposes, however, it was used, but generally to a limited extent, as the natural soil formed an admirable building material. Wherever such remains occur, their mounds and the vicinity are thickly strewn with pieces of earthenware, and it is these to which Garcés refers as *cascos de losá* (read *losa*). Where adobe was employed, the larger walls were usually constructed by first erecting two parallel rows of upright logs, the width of the proposed walls, then wattling them and filling in with grout. The smaller walls were made by rolling up balls of adobe mortar mixed with ashes or fine gravel, setting them in the wall as if stones, and plastering the exposed surfaces with the same material. So tenacious is this native mortar that, when dry, it withstands the elements sometimes for centuries, as Casa Grande still testifies.—F. W. H.

(*grande arboleda*) of the Rio Colorado,[58] and in seeking the ford, in order that the expedition might cross (the river).[89]

---

[58] This fixed name of one of the greatest rivers of North America is only one of many and by no means the earliest it has borne. Garcés tells us beyond that the Yuman name was Javill; a word also rendered Hah-weal. *Colorado* is said to be the Spanish translation of the Piman name *buqui aquimuti;* I presume it to be of Kinotic date, as Kino's map of 1701 legends "R. Colorado del Norte," though the great Piman apostle also called it Rio de los Martires, perhaps commemorating the Three Holy Martyrs of Japan, as they were styled (there was a principal rectorate or missionary jurisdiction of this name in Sonora in Jesuit times). "Colorado ó del Norte" also appears on Venegas' map, 1757, which is dressed on Kino's. "Coloratus fl. *seu* Nord-Strom" is the Latin-German legend of the Tabula Californiæ, 1702, likewise based on "Chino." The "Norte" clause seems to have soon dropped out, leaving Colorado as we have it; a term often translated Red in English, and not seldom specified, among the many Red rivers of our country, as Red River of the West, or Red River of California, otherwise Rio Colorado del Occidente. But the great stream was discovered in 1540, and had a string of names for about half a century. The discovery was made at its mouth by Hernando de Alarcon, Aug. 26, 1540; he is said to have navigated it for 85 leagues, but this distance is dubious; he called it Rio de Buena Guia, or Good Guide river. The same year, Coronado, being at Zuñi (Cibola), sent a party under Cárdenas to explore westward. They went through Moqui and on to the Colorado somewhere in the course of the Grand Cañon, which they have the honor of discovering on or about Sept. 15, 1540. Melchior Diaz, who reached the mouth of the river overland from Sonora via the Gulf coast, probably early in October, 1540, called it Rio del Tizon, a term translated Firebrand river, on account of the customs of the natives, who carried firebrands with which to warm themselves. On Jan. 25, 1605, Juan de Oñate also reached the

Nov. 30. The Cocomaricopa justices (*justicias*)

---

mouth, or nearly there, coming overland from Santa Fé; he named it Rio Grande de Buena Esperanza. But the most remarkable point in this connection is, that Oñate crossed the branch now known as Colorado Chiquito or Little Colorado, and named *this* Rio Colorado; whence it appears, that "Colorado" was first applied to the minor stream at this date, and later extended to the principal river: the actual connection of the two rivers cannot have been known to Oñate, as it was many a long year from his date before the place where the one flows into the other was determined.

[89] For the 29th Font gives further particulars. He said mass in the "bower," which was about eight varas long and four wide, and in which an altar was set up with the banner of the Virgin, which Garcés carried. "As the rio Colorado has such a current, and runs so scattered through the bottomlands, we found no Isla de Trinidad, neither was there now the ford by which passed the expedition on the former occasion, the Indians saying that the river was now very deep at that ford: for these two rivers Colorado and Gila rise every year to such excess, and run through these flat and friable grounds with such lack of restraint, that they appear to shift their channels, forming wash-outs, and dividing into branches, according as the force of the current bears more or less to this side or to that. The result is, that at its greatest flood the Gila itself extends more than a league, and presumably the Colorado much more. Wherefore it was intended to cross the river on rafts; but the señor comandante, considering that it would be a long and tedious job to cross such a train on rafts, went with some soldiers to examine the river, and with some difficulty found a ford across the Colorado higher up than it formerly was, and above

departed on their return to their land. The whole expedition passed over the Rio Colorado[60] without

---

the place where we were; and having found it, he opened a road in the afternoon through the brush and woodland of the river bottom, in order to make the crossing next day."

Emory's Report already cited has a plate of the Gila junction with the Colorado, and the condition of things he describes on p. 95 may be compared with Font's: "The Gila comes into it nearly at right angles, and the point of junction, strangely chosen, is the hard butte through which, with their united forces they cut a cañon, and then flow off due magnetic west, in a direction of the resultant due to the relative strength of the rivers. The walls of the cañon are vertical, and about 50 feet high, and 1,000 feet long. Almost before entering the cañon, in descending the Gila, its sea-green waters are lost in the chrome-colored hue of the Colorado. For a distance of three or four miles below the junction, the river is perfectly straight, and about 600 feet wide." This "cañon" is exactly what the missionaries of 1775-81 called the Puerto (or Puertezuelo) de la Purísima Concepcion; and the mission of the latter name was precisely on the site of Fort Yuma.

[60] On making the ford the party passes from Arizona into California, and camps in the well-known locality of Fort Yuma, if not on the very site of this military post, which dates from 1850. The first establishment there was made in Sept., 1849, when Camp Calhoun was formed by Lt. Cave Johnson Couts, U. S. Dragoons, in command of an escort for Whipple's boundary survey. The tide of travel was just then setting strongly, the Indians were uneasy, and military protection was imperative. Next year a ferry boat was running; and on Nov. 27, 1850, Capt. and Bvt. Major Samuel Peter Heintzelman of the 2d Infantry arrived from San Diego with three small companies. The post he established that winter was called Camp Independence. Lt. George Hasket (or Horatio?) Derby, of the

any mishap. Having gone about a league northwest

Topographical Engineers, better known as a humorist by the alias of John Phœnix, sailed from San Francisco Nov. 1, 1850, and was up the river in January, 1851, then meeting Heintzelman. (See his Report, Reconn. Gulf Cala. and Col. R., 1850-51, Senate Ex. Doc. No. 81, 32d Cong. 1st sess., June 19, 1852, 8vo, pp. 28, map.) In March, 1851, Camp Independence was shifted to the site of the old Spanish mission of 1780-81 called La Purisima Concepcion, and thus was Camp Yuma or Fort Yuma established. In June, 1851, on account of the difficulty of getting supplies by wagon across the desert, the troops were withdrawn to Santa Isabel (then a shiftless Indian village, with a roofless church), except a small guard left at Yuma under Lt. Thomas Wm. Sweeny. In Nov., 1851, this guard was re-enforced by a detachment under Capt. Delozier Davidson, 2d Infantry, but he abandoned Yuma in a few days, some time in December, owing to Indian troubles, scurvy, and exhausted supplies, first destroying some of the stores and caching others. Major Heintzelman returned Feb. 29, 1852, to rebuild the fort and permanently establish a garrison. This consisted of the original one, another company of infantry, and two of dismounted dragoons; though the latter remained only a month. The Indians uncached the stores and carried them off, together with the boats, and were troublesome till late that year, when some sort of peace was made. (See Heintzelman's letter of July 15, 1853, in Ho. Rep. Ex. Doc. No. 76, 34th Cong., 3d sess., 1857; also, on early Yuma annals, articles in Yuma Sentinel, May 4, 11, 18, 25, 1878.) In Oct., 1852, the Yumas are said to have been 972 in number; on the 26th, a fire destroyed much of the fort, in Dec. an earthquake altered the river to some extent, and that month the first steamer, Uncle Sam, which had been brought to the head of the gulf and there put together, reached Yuma. Indian disturbances continued in 1853. Some of Walker's filibusters arrived in Apr., 1854, and Capt. Geo. H. Thomas of we halted on the bank of the river. We crossed this

the 3d Artillery took command in July of that year. Then also the steamer General Jesup was running; the steamer Colorado was put on in 1855; since which time the navigation of the river may be considered to have been established. The General Jesup, under Capt. Johnson, ran for some years; on Jan. 23, 1858, she ferried E. F. Beale's party at Mojave, and left that day for Yuma. Ives' important exploration of 1857-58 is fully noted elsewhere. In Sept., 1865, when I spent some time at Yuma, it was a flourishing post, well built on the bluff, in adaptation to the excessive heat, which often sent the mercury over 100°, sometimes to 120°. One report gives a mean annual temperature of about 76° F., with a monthly mean of 93° for one July, and a daily rise to 100° for 19 successive days. It is of Yuma, as of the hottest place in the United States, that are told the three stock stories; of the dog that ran howling on three legs across the parade ground because it burnt his paws, of the soldier who died and went to hell, but who came back for blankets, and of the hens that laid hard-boiled eggs. The egg story has some foundation in the fact that the moisture soon evaporates, leaving the contents sodden and sticky. But the air is so dry that the highest temperature is borne with comparative ease, if one keeps out of the sun. I often went shooting, and have suffered more from the heat in Washington, New York, and Quebec than I did at Yuma. Fort Yuma was turned over to the Interior Department by Executive Order of January 9, 1884; the military reservation was thus disposed of under Act of July 5, 1884, and by ruling of March 5, 1892, became part of the Yuma Indian reservation.

The identity of Fort Yuma with the site of La Purisima Concepcion, the pueblo-presidio-mission founded in 1780 and destroyed by massacre in July, 1781, is established in the letter of Major Heintzelman above cited. I would quote it extensively, but it is too full of historical errors: for example, he says that river (where it was) divided into three branches

"Pedro" Garcés and Father Kino! founded the mission, that it lasted 7 or 8 years, etc. But some portions of the letter, describing what was within the writer's knowledge, are extremely interesting. I extract as follows, pp. 34, 35:

"A little east of north from here [Fort Yuma], 45 miles on the top of a ridge of barren mountains, is a detached rock, several hundred feet high, resembling a dome [*i. e.*, Castle Dome] . . . and in a direction west of north about 18 miles distant, on another range of similar mountains, rises a solitary rock, 500 feet high, which we here call Chimney Peak . . . The Colorado winds its way between these two ranges, runs south along the base of the hill we are on, then turns short to the west, through this cleft, for nearly seven miles, giving us both banks for that distance, and turns again more to the south, and finds its way to the Gulf. . . .

"When we occupied this point the rough stone foundations of the houses, with their earthen ruins, could be clearly traced. The buildings appear to have been of mud, between upright poles or forks, to support the roof. The charred ends we dug up, with the remains of a copper, urn-shaped vessel, of the capacity of about a quart. There were eight or ten buildings, fifteen or twenty feet, nearly square, irregularly placed, covering an area of about an acre, and including the site of the present commanding officer's quarters. It was an excellent position for defence against Indians; the only point above it being beyond the range of arrows, and commanding a fine view of the surrounding country. During the high water a broad slough, in the rear of the post, is filled, and cuts off all communication with the main land, except by the means of boats. On a detached sandy plateau, above the rise of the river, near Hut-ta-mi-né, are also the ruins of an old Spanish establishment."

In the course of the foregoing Major Heintzelman speaks (*brazos*); its width I judged would be 400 varas,[41]

---

of one José Maria Ortega, founder of the Concepcion "presidio" as son of Don Francisco Ortega, commandant "of the expedition of the discoverers of Alta California"; also of Martinez Ortega (brother of Joachim Ortega, both living in 1853 at Santa Maria, Cal.) as a child three years of age at the time of the massacre. I know nothing of these names in the present connection. Mr. Hodge informs me that there was a ranch owned by Don José Maria Ortega, 7½ leagues west of Santa Isabel, S. Cala., visited by Whipple in 1849, this being evidently private claim 514 on the G. L. O. map of California. (See Schoolcraft, ii, pp. 101, 102.)

This identity of Concepcion with Yuma is also evident from Bartlett's Narrative, ii, p. 161: "Close by Fort Yuma the traces of the old Spanish Mission buildings may still be seen [June 16, 1852]. These consist of partly demolished stone walls of old buildings; though a few years since the walls of a church were also visible. At the time of our visit these had been removed, and used for building the barracks. There were 200 soldiers, artillery and infantry, here, under the command of Major Heintzelman." This garrison was then still cantoned in tents. Thus the identity of the two establishments extends to incorporation of some of the building materials of the old one in the new.

[41] The Spanish vara in Mexico is 32.9927 inches; it is taken in California at 33 inches, in Texas at 33 1-3 inches. Garcés judged the river to be about 366 yards wide. Font gives the particulars of crossing the river, in substance as follows. We broke camp at 9.00 a. m. and the whole expedition made the ford at 1.00 p. m. without any special mishap. Camped on the other side, having come a short league north. The width of the river where we crossed I judged to be 300 to 400 varas, and this is at its lowest; when it overflows it is some leagues wide. It was lucky to find the river here divided into three arms, so

and at this time it was very low, but when it is swollen it extends for leagues.

that the crossing was facilitated, which otherwise would have been difficult. The first branch was wide and deep; the second, not so deep, and more contracted; the third was deep and much wider than the first. All the people got over safely, though there might have been trouble, because the beasts were swimming before they got through. One person took a different course, as if he had no fear of the river, and soon went under so far that the water washed away a blanket and some *coritas*, and he let go a child he was carrying; but the Virgin wanted us to get over without anything worse than a wetting; for the water came up to the horses' backs, though they were tall ones, like my own, and I was wet up to the knees. The three pack trains crossed in four sections, thus lightening each pack by one-third, and thus the whole beef-herd, horse-herd, and pack-mules went over with felicity, except that my pack was wetted, in which were the holy oils and ornaments; for they made so little of me, and of anything I said, though I charged the muleteers to take care not to wet this pack, and supplicated the señor comandante to the same effect, perhaps on this very account was my pack the less cared for. Three Yumas took Padre Garcés over on their shoulders, two by his head and one at his feet, stretched out stiff, face upward, like a corpse. I crossed on horseback, and as I was sick, with my head dizzy, three naked servants went with me, one in front, leading the horse, and one on each side to keep me from falling off. The whole train was so large that it took three hours to cross, and in order to dry ourselves we stopped on the very bank of the river. . . In the afternoon the señor comandante went with Padre Garcés and Padre Thomas to Palma's residence, to see where to build a shed or hut for the habitation of said padres, who were going to stay on the Colorado to catechise the Yumans and explore the minds of other nations, etc.

Note transferred from p. 139.

[m] Present name of one of the two principal tributaries of the Gila from the south, the other being Rio Santa Cruz. The San Pedro appears to have been so called from a place of that name, otherwise Casas de San Pedro, near its head, just over the Sonoran border, about lat. 31° 18′, near long. 110°. This is an obscure spot in the vicinity of the old Spanish Presidio de Terrenate. There was another San Pedro, lower down the river, in Arizona, vicinity of our modern Camp Wallen and Camp Huachuca; and yet another application of the name to some mines still further down the river. No San Pedro appears on Kino's map in this connection, nor on Venegas' of 1757; so I suppose all these names to be post-Kinotic. In his time the name of the river was Rio de Quipuri, or Quiburi, so called from a then better known place in the vicinity of present Tombstone, Ariz. It may be noted that a place called San Pablo de Quipuri existed in Kino's time; and that Peter and Paul were so often paired off by their devotees that their names were sometimes transposed. "Kino passó á San Pablo de Quipuri," Dec. 10, 1696; again Nov. 9, 1697, "Kino llegó á San Pablo de Quiburi," and therefrom "siguiendo las orillas del mismo rio Quiburi" he reached the Gila: Apost. Afan., pp. 266-68. In fact, the San Pedro or Quiburi was a highway from Sonora into Arizona in those early days and had been traveled as such since 1539-42, when Friar Marcos and the Coronado expedition took that route to Cibola, and one writer of the journey, Jaramillo, named it Rio Nexpa. The place on it above called San Pablo de Quipuri also figures later (about 1702) as San Ignacio Guibori, in Doc. para Hist. Mex., 4th ser., v, p. 136. The course of the river is approx. parallel with that of the Santa Cruz, a similar highway; the two are separated by the Santa Catalina, Santa Rita, and some lesser mountain ranges. Entering Arizona near long. 110°, just E. of the Hua-

chuca mts., the river runs N. with a little inclination westward through Cochise co., Ariz., cuts off a small N. E. corner of Pima co., continues between the Santa Catalina and "Galiuro" ranges, is joined by Arivaipa creek at Camp Grant, and joins the Gila at Dudleyville, Pinal co. The name "Galiuro" is a curiosity; as Bandelier says, Final Rep., ii, 1892, p. 473, "it can be traced on the maps, through Salitre, Calitre, Calitro, to Galiuro."

CHAPTER IV.

DOWN RIO COLORADO FROM YUMA TO THE GULF AND RETURN, DECEMBER, 1775.

Dec. 1. We went—the señor comandante, Padre Tomás (Eisarc), and I—with some muleteers (*arrieros*) to the house of Captain Palma, which was distant from the place where we had halted about one league westward, for the purpose of building the hut (*xacal*)[1] which had to serve as our habitation until the return of the expedition. This evening Captain Palma put on the clothes which the señor viceroy had presented to him in recognition of the good services he has rendered to the Españoles.[2] This same evening came four Jalchedun women with one man, saying on behalf of their nation that already was it de-

---

[1] Aztec or Nahuatl *xacalli* (*xalli*, sand; *calli*, house, probably for the reason that it was originally a form of dugout or a brush shelter covered with sand or earth for temporary use). The term *xacal* or *jacal* is now applied to a low structure, made of brush or thatch usually closed on three sides, and sometimes covered with earth. It is the typical house shelter of the Yuma, Seri, and other southwestern Indians. Among the Pima and Papago the houses, although thatched, are much more elaborately finished and are more permanent in character.—F. W. H.

[2] Some further information relating to this episode is rendered in the postscript which Garcés' scholiast appends to the Diary

---

(see beyond). The Documentos para la Historia de Mexico, sér. i, tomo vi, pub. Mexico, 1854, contains the Diario Curioso de Mexico de D. José Gomez, Cabo de Alabarderos, on p. 11 of which is the following choice bit: "El dia 4 de Noviembre de 1776 en México, en el real palacio, el Sr. virey D. Antonio Maria Bucareli; y Urzua dió el baston de capitan á un *indio meco*, y por bien le hizo poner un vestido de uniforme azul con vuelta encarnada, la chupa galeonada de oro: este indio se llamaba el *capitan Palma*, no tenia otro nombre porque no era cristiano: no se sabe cuándo se bautizara: y fué en lúnes el dia de San Carlos." And on p. 17 the following: "El dia 13 Febrero de 1777 en México, en el Sagrario de la santa iglesia, se bautizaron cinco indios mecos, y entre ellos uno que era el capitan Palma, y les pusieron los nombres de Carlos, y fué su padrino . . . y fué en juéves." Here we have the date of the noble Yuman's investiture with the baton of authority, likewise with a blue coat faced with red, and waistcoat trimmed with gold, also the date of his baptism, etc. These, however, were events after 1775, and we have only to turn in the present instance to Font, whose Diary for to-day has some particulars very much to the point regarding the same amiable savage: "Captain Palma appeared in the uniform which had been given to him on the part of the most excellent señor Virrey (Bucaréli), consisting of a shirt, trousers, waistcoat yellow in front with some trimmings, coat or cloak of blue cloth laced, and black velvet cap adorned with false gems, and a plume *á modo de Palma.* This captain is called Palma on account of the friendship that in past times he had with a majordomo of the mission of Caborca whose name was Palma, and which name he took; and he is called Salvador because he was given this name by the Indian Sebastian Tarabel when the latter came from California to Sonora, and was detained for some days in the house termined, from the message that we had sent to them, to make peace with the Yumas. Here ensued this night a great joke (*chiste*). Asking the Jalchedun of affairs in his country, he told us that there was in his land a man who had fled from the new Conversions of Californias;[8] that this man had been killed

---

of said captain. The señor comandante brought the clothes on behalf of the Viceroy, and gave them to Palma this night, and made him put them on in his (Anza's) tent, without our concurrence, or letting us know anything about it; for he is so fond of keeping to himself all his actions, and setting himself up in the opinion of others, that he will let nobody else have a hand in his affairs, nor admit to his presence anyone who might in any way attract the attention of the people he wants to keep for himself. So, though it would have been more regular for the presentation of glass beads and tobacco which he brought for the gentiles in the name of his majesty to have been made to the Indians at the hands of we three padres who accompanied the expedition, in order to exalt their minds, since in the end the religious have to be their ministers, and the Indians are inclined to recognize those who make them presents; nevertheless, the señor comandante always made such distributions with his own hand, and would never let us do it, and not once on the whole journey did he ask me if I wanted a string of beads to give to some Indian, excepting when we were returning, in the mission of San Luis (Obispo), where he gave me a few strings for which I begged."—Let us sympathize with poor Font, snubbed and abused, truculent and jealous, while we admire the discipline enforced in all things, great and small, by the model commanding officer Anza.

[8] The new conversions of California were the missions which had recently been established, namely: 1. San Diego de Alcala,

and burned by the nations through which he passed, but that he had managed to come to life again in some mysterious manner (*tenia havilidad de volverse remolino*); that he carried with him a viper, and finally that he was a great sorcerer, and that he was killing the Jalchedunes; in consequence of which they were in great terror. The señor comandante was somewhat mortified notwithstanding the great patience which he expends upon Indians, worthy to be imitated by all who devote themselves to such enterprises. I begged him for a few glass beads, which I gave them (these Jalchedunes).[4]

July 16, 1769; 2. San Carlos de Monterey, June 3, 1770; 3. San Antonio de Padua, July 14, 1771; 4. San Gabriel Arcángel, Sept. 8, 1771; 5. San Luis Obispo, Sept. 1, 1772. These are fully noted beyond.

[4] While Garcés was thinking of such things, for his heart was in his missionary work, Padre Font, who had no stomach for anything but theology, continued full of trouble on this Dec. 1, and spreads it upon his pages. He proposed to Anza to take a geodetic observation, but Anza would not let him, he says, because Anza did not wish observations to be made in Font's name; and lest it should be said that Font made them, Anza always assisted in the operation, and would never let Font have possession of the instrument which Bucaréli had sent, or do anything to enable Font to obey the orders he had received, etc. So to-day, as Anza could not assist in the operation, because he was busy helping to build Garcés' hut, he told Font that the observation could be taken next day. Then there was also trouble about a certain musical instrument. From the time Anza went through Font's mission of San José de Pimas,

Dec. 2. I continued the building of the hut with the señor comandante; the Indians assisted some-

he persisted in carrying this instrument, persuading Font that the psaltery would be very convenient to attract the Indians, especially the festive Yumas, and though Font strongly objected to this, for fear the instrument should be lost on so long a journey, yet he had to condescend to Anza's importunities; and then, after Font had taken it along with detriment enough, Anza never said anything about it, nor wished to hear it, nor would let the people assemble in Font's tent for music—and all the while Font was carrying the useless thing along without being able to try it on the Yumas or anybody else—it was really quite too awful! Then again, Anza wanted to finish the hut in one day, but no, that could not be done; and to-night, after supper, Font asked him if they were going to start next day, and Anza said no. So Font begged him that, as they were to be detained another day, he would order camp shifted to the place where the hut was building, to escape the inconvenience to which they were subjected from dust and wind, which were such that no cooking could be done; but Anza condescended not to this supplication, etc. Again, Font asked him in what sort of a fix Padres Garcés and Eixarch were going to be left on that river, among gentiles, with no escort, and other questions that he wished answered. Then Anza got very hot, and wanted to know whose business that was, saying that he did not have to give Font reasons for anything he did; that he was already doing more than he was obliged to in building the hut, as he had no orders to that effect; and that it was none of his affair to look out for the way in which the padres had to live on the Colorado, for they had come of their own account, in fact had asked to be sent, without being ordered to do so by the viceroy, and so, having chosen to come, they could look out for themselves. Font admitted that there was some force in this, and Anza finally told him that the three interpreters, what, and to those who worked were given beads. This day was distributed tobacco to all the Yumas and beads to all the women who assembled.

two muleteers, and two servants should stay with the padres. But the three interpreters were three useless Indians, good for nothing, not even as interpreters, because their Spanish was so bad. One of the muleteers was the Indian Sebastian Tarabel, who had already accompanied Garcés on former travels, and the other was a boy who had come along with a soldier, and served Eixarch faithfully, and was the only one who was good for anything, though he got no pay for his services, as the señor comandante said that the boy was none of his to look out for. The two servants were one of them a worthless young fellow who had volunteered to go with Garcés, for whom he did nothing, and from the Colorado went back to Sonora, and the other a small boy whom Eixarch had brought along to take care of his horse. Font says that he notes all this that it may not remain unknown what commonly happens on such expeditions in dealing with los señores comandantes, and to shed light on what ought to be assured from the start, without trusting to promises and smooth words, as Garcés did, who having confided in the general offers Anza made him, found out afterward that they were not fulfilled in particulars; seeing as how these señores who command such expeditions have nobody over them to contend with, and are so absolute that there is need of real patience in putting up with them, etc. The unhappy padre, whose tale of woe is thus recorded, concludes for the day by citing the Venerable Padre Fray Antonio Margil de Jesus (1655-1726), who seems to have known how it was himself, for he used to say: *A militibus libera nos, Domine!* To do Font justice, he must have rubbed his chin with an afterthought, for he adds in the margin the saving clause, *Bien que no hay regla sin excepcion.*

Dec. 3. The hut was finished, and the expedition arrived on this spot. The señor comandante issued to Padre Fray Tomás and to me what was allowed us for our subsistence.[8]

---

[8] Dec. 3 was Sunday, and Font's Diary is much more explicit. "The commanding officer determined to do as I begged him on the 1st, but not out of respect to my petition, or moved by my supplication. Padre Thomas said mass, and we all attended; after which we moved from the bank of the river Colorado at 10.30 a. m., and at noon reached the rancheria of Captain Pablo, having marched a matter of a league west one quarter southwest [see map, camp marks "40" to "41"]. The rest of the day was occupied in finishing the hut, and though it was not quite done, it was put in fair shape, and the padres were satisfied with what was given them for their two selves and the seven persons who stayed with them, which was: one tercio of tobacco; two boxes of beads; one arroba [25 lbs.] of chocolate; one arroba of sugar; one arroba of lard; five oxen; three tercios of jerked beef; one carga [about 4 bushels] of beans; one carga of coarse flour; a little fine flour; one almud [from 3½ to 11 pints] of peas; a box of biscuit; three hams; six cheeses; one frying pan; one other pan; one ax; twelve cakes of soap; twelve wax candles; and one jug of wine, with which they could not say mass, for it was so bad that it neither looked nor tasted like wine, and they had to send to Caborca for some. This was something, but not much for nine mouths, and the time they had to wait for more provisions, on the return of the expedition." At night Padre Font sent for Captains Palma and Pablo to come to his tent, and exhorted them to take good care of the two padres, promising to report them favorably to the king if they behaved themselves, etc. To all of which they replied that Font need have no fear; that since Palma had received his bâton and uniform he represented Captain Don Juan (Riv-

Dec. 4. The expedition went on its destination,[*] and there remained in our company six persons—two

---

era y Moncada, lieutenant-governor of California), and would be a father to the padres, etc., and Pablo chimed in that if anyone tried to rob or hurt the padres, he would kill them. Upon which the padre responded that neither he, Font, nor God, wanted any killing done, for that would not be right; but if anybody hurt the padres, to catch him and give him a thrashing. This suited Pablo so well that he lay on the ground with his arms and legs stretched out, and said very impressively, "Ajót, ajót," which means "Bueno, bueno." During Font's speech Anza sent for Palma, for no other purpose than to get him away from the padre's tent, for it did not suit him to have anyone talk to the Indians, especially to captains, or give them any instructions; and in order to entertain the Indians he got up a dance for them by the light of the fire in front of his tent, so that Font had no chance to say anything more.

[*] Font's Diary for the 4th, on the departure of the expedition, is specially interesting, as it clearly indicates the topography. Having said mass in the hut, and taken leave of his compadres, he left Palma's rancheria at 9.30 a. m., and at 2.30 p. m. was near a laguna where Pablo had his rancheria, one league below the Cerro de San Pablo, having gone some 5 leagues west one quarter southwest. Soon after breaking camp he forded an arm of the Colorado, which was given off a good way higher up, and here joined the river. About one league from camp he came to the Puerto de la Concepcion, a strait between two low hills through which the now united Gila and Colorado flowed. He stopped awhile to look at the very extensive lowlands which stretched before him, and through which the river ran, as it seemed to him from eastnortheast to westsouthwest; and at the northeast, some ten leagues off, was descried the Cabeza del Gigante, which the Indians call Bauquiburi, a great round peak in the rough sierra between the Gila and Colorado; while to the

Españoles, one little boy, and three interpreters on account of the expedition—and another Indian that Señor Don Bernardo Urrea let me have.

Dec. 5. Seeing that the occasion was very propitious for visiting the nations of the Rio Colorado down to the disemboguement, and investigating their willingness to be catechised, which is what the señor viceroy ordered me (to do), I determined to depart for this purpose. I set apart what there was where-

---

north, three or four leagues off, was the other peak called Peñasca de la Campana, surmounting another rough sierra, the Cerro de San Pablo, by whose base the river runs, etc. The road, though mostly level, was toilsome, being so overgrown with brush that in many places only a narrow trail could be found, and for the most part so choked with mezquite, screw mezquite and other growths, among them one called cachanilla, that the expedition only got along with much delay and the loss of some animals.

No one familiar with the scenery about Fort Yuma can fail to recognize the fidelity of this description. On the west, the Cerro de San Pablo is the range capped by Chimney Rock (La Campana) to the north, and ending on the south at Pilot Knob; while much further northeast rises Castle Dome, or Giant's Head (Cabeza del Gigante or Bauquiburi). From Palma's rancheria to Pablo's was five leagues; Palma's was one league above Puerto de Concepcion and Pablo's was one league below the ending of Cerro de San Pablo in Pilot Knob, leaving three leagues between Yuma and Pilot Knob, which is just about right. The identification of Pilot Knob with the end of Cerro San Pablo is assured; for Font's Diary of the 5th says that here *el rio dá una quiñada quasi al sur* (takes a turn about south).

with to make them presents, and taking in my company the Indian Sevastian Taraval and the other two interpreters I departed, after taking leave of my well-beloved companion padre. Having traveled five leagues westsouthwest I halted in the first Rancherias de San Pablo.[7] I talked to them, and exhibited the linen print of Maria Santisima and the lost soul. They told me that she was a nice lady, that señora; that the lost soul was very bad; that they were not such fools as not to know that up in heaven above are the good people, and down under the ground are the bad ones, the dogs, and the very ugly wild beasts; and that this they knew to be a fact because the Pimas had told them so. I laid before them the proposition, whether they wished that Españoles and padres should come to live in their land, and they answered "Yes," that they should then be well content, for then they would have meat and clothing. I gave them some tobacco and glass beads, with which they were much pleased.

---

[7] This was a Cuchan (Yuman) rancheria the native name of which, if it had one, is unknown, but the position of which is fixed within a league of Pilot Knob, the prominent landmark already mentioned, on the right side of the Colorado, some seven miles west of Fort Yuma, and nearly on the present boundary of Lower California. The rancheria is also called Laguna de San Pablo, or Laguna del Capitan Pablo, apparently from the similarity of the names of the Yuman Indian and of the mountain range Garcés called Cerro de San Pablo, ending at Pilot Knob near the rancheria. I also believe this place to be identical, or nearly so, with the site of the subsequent presidio-pueblo-mission of San Pablo y San Pedro de Bicufier, which was founded in the fall of 1780, and shared the sad fate of La Concepcion July 17, 1781. The location has been much discussed, as it seems to me with needless uncertainty, and too great insistence upon the discrepancies found in the mileages of several writers. It was some eight or ten miles below Fort Yuma, about a league south of Pilot Knob, and thus so near the boundary between California Alta and Baja as to have occasioned some question whether the Franciscans or Dominicans had the better right there. This Californian San Pablo y San Pedro, on the west bank of the Colorado, is of course to be distinguished from each of the two places, the one called San Pablo and the other San Pedro, which Kino named on the

Dec. 6. I went 10 leagues southwest, though in order to visit various rancherias I changed it (this course) now west, now south, and arrived at the Laguna de Santa Olalla,[8] where I met the señor coman-

---

south side of the Gila, and which have never been identified, if they ever existed except in name.

Pilot Knob is notable, among other things, as the locality of a certain Fort Defiance, a stone structure built in 1849 or 1850 by some Americans in connection with a ferry which had been established in that vicinity. The name of the fort appears only on Derby's map, among the many I have examined on this point. There was trouble here, owing to the behavior of the whites, ending in the massacre of a dozen or more of them by the Yumas. Accounts of the affair which have reached us are confusing: compare, for example, Bartlett's Narr., ii, pp. 174-176, and Bancroft, Hist. Ariz. and N. M., p. 487. The existence of Fort Defiance was brief, and it never became well known.

[8] Otherwise Santa Olaya, as on some representations of Font's

dante, Padre Font, and all the expedition. In these rancherias I met many of the Indians who live in the

---

map: see his camp mark "44" (the 4th one down the W. side of the Colorado from the Gila confluence), made by Font to be in lat. 32° 33′. This latitude is nearly the same as that of the place, about 32° 30′, where the international boundary line strikes the river on the other side, 20 m. S. of the mouth of the Gila, close by a place called Pedrick's or Padrick's. Santa Olalla (Santa Eulalia, St. Eulalie) appears to have been in the floodplain of the Colorado in the course of New river, or nearly so, and not far from the spot to be found on some modern maps by the name of Captain Juan's. Examine also the places marked Bajadura and Five Wells on Sitgreaves' map, pub. 1854. It is probably not now determinable more closely than this. The floodplain down which Garcés is wandering has an average breadth of six or eight miles on his side of the river.

Font's Diary of the 6th gives the origin of the name Olalla on Anza's expedition of the year before (1774). It says that having left the Rancheria de Cojat (where was camp of the 5th, about halfway between Pablo's rancheria and Santa Olalla) he reached at five leagues southwest the Laguna de Santa Olalla, "*nombre que se le puso en la espedicion primera.*" The leaguage given was not straight, for the road went twisting like a snake (*culebreando*) from south to west. On the return trip of 1774, the position of Santa Olalla is given as four leagues west of the river and altogether eight leagues (by the crooked road) westsouthwest of the mouth of the Gila. As already intimated, probably no closer location of Santa Olalla can be made than near (somewhat above) the entrance of New river into the main floodplain of the Colorado, and some six to ten miles west of the latter. It was a notable place in those days, as the end of the Yumas and beginning of the Cajuenches. Font describes it as follows: La Laguna de Santa Olalla is narrow, like a great ditch, more than a league long, approximately parallel with the sierras and whom the Yumas call Quemeyá.[*] They wear sandals of maguey-fiber (*guarachas de mezcal*), to protect themselves from the stones. These Indians descend to this land to eat calabashes and other

---

river, but apart therefrom about two leagues or rather more, whence may be inferred how many leagues the river spreads when it overflows, even to the depth of two varas, as we saw by the rubbish high up on the trunks of the willows which grow on the borders of the laguna, left there by the river when at its flood it overruns those lands. It was humid ground, with plenty of grass, and quail [*Lophortyx gambeli*] in the brush; the Indians also caught the fish called *matalote* in the laguna, and one of a kind named *lisa*.

[*] Or *Comeya*. (Also found on some copies of Font's map as Quemexa, and elsewhere Quemeyab.) This appears to have been a collective name and to have been applied to several Yuman bands from the vicinity of San Diego (occupied by the Diegueños) a hundred miles inland and even to the vicinity of the Colorado, in southern California, north and south of the present boundary, especially along San Felipe and Carrizo creeks, New river, and about Salton Lake. It is not unlikely that part at least of the Diegueños were included by Garcés in the group. They are no longer known as a tribe, having doubtless consolidated with the Yuma, and probably with other Yuman tribes now confined to reservations, except a small band known to the Mohave as Camilya in northern Lower California. As late as 1869 they were referred to, under the name "New River Indians," as a tribe, numbering 750, on intimate terms with the Cuchan (Yuma). Other forms of the name for them are Comáiyàh, Comedas, Comoyah, Comoyàtz, Comoyeé, Comoyei, etc.—F. W. H.

The Comeya were commonly identified with the Diegueños. Thus Bartlett, Narr., ii, 1854, p. 179: "The Dieguenos, who derived their name from San Diego, are the *Comeya* of early times."

fruits of the river. These Quemeyá Indians live in the situations of San Jacome and San Sevastian[10] in the sierra, and as far as San Diego. In these rancherias ends the nation of the Yumas.[11]

---

[10] Neither of these places may be now identified, but both were on the route of the expedition, and Font's Diary throws some light on San Sebastian: Being at Santa Olalla on the 6th, Font went some 7 leagues W. N. W. to a place called Pozo salobre del Carrizal on the 9th; thence 7 leagues W. N. W to a dry gulch on the 10th; thence 14 leagues, mostly W. N. W., to Pozo de Santa Rosa de las Laxas on the 11th; thence three leagues N. to a dry arroyo on the 12th; whence on the 13th, at 7 leagues further, about N. N. W., he arrived at *San Sebastian*, "which is a small rancheria of the mountain Cajuenches, or more properly of the Jecuiches." See his camp mark "49" × "126." This place was a spring of warm or tepid water, deep and permanent, like a cienega, with little current, with rushes and some grass not very good, for the whole of the low ground was whitened with alkali, as if it had been dusted with flour, though the water itself was not very bad; also, near the spring was a creek (*zanjon*) much choked up, and with very unwholesome water, and some mezquites and other brush. Here lived a few mountain Jecuiches, 20 or 30 souls, the most miserable creatures Font ever saw. He supposed them to be of the Quemaya nation, according to the account of Garcés, and the same as some he afterward found in the Puerto de San Carlos. So much for the Rancheria de San Sebastian, which Font made in lat. 33° 08′ N., and where the expedition stayed several days. But there was also a Sierra de San Sebastian, so named on the expedition of 1774, in front of camp, all snowy from summit to base.

[11] On the other (east) side of the river, the last rancheria of the Yumas was named Santa Isabel by Kino in Nov., 1701.

Dec. 7. I remained at the Laguna de Santa Olalla in company with the señor comandante, Padre Font, and the whole expedition. The latitude of this place was observed and found in 32° 33′. At this laguna commences the Cajuenche [12] nation, and many of them joined us to-day, but not all, and so the population could not be ascertained. I distributed among them tobacco and glass beads, showed them the image of Maria Santisima and the figure of the lost soul, and gave them to understand the things of God. All showed by their great delight how much they were pleased with Maria Santisima, exclaiming that everything was all right, but the sight of the lost soul so horrified them that they would not look at it and wanted the picture reversed; [13] and (also exclaiming) that it suited them that the padres and Españoles should come to their lands. At this laguna and in all its vicinity there is so much grass that the soldiers all agreed that the horseherd (*cavallada*—cavalry)

---

[12] A Yuman tribe formerly living on the Colorado from a short distance below the influx of the Gila, especially on the eastern side. They had palisaded towns and spoke a dialect of the Cocopa. There are probably remnants of the tribe still in Lower California, and it is not improbable that others have been consolidated with the Yumas. Garcés speaks beyond of the difference of their language from Yuman. This is as was to have been expected, as the Cajuenche were more closely related to the Cocopa than to the Cuchan or Yuma proper, although all three belonged to the same linguistic stock. Font estimated the Yumas at 3000, and the Cajuenches at somewhat more (*algo mas*).—F. W. H.

[13] Lest I be suspected of embroidering the passage a bit, I give the original: todas con gran regozijo manifestaron lo mucho que les quadraba Maria SSma, gritando que todo

estaba mucho bueno: pero la vista del condenado les causó tanto horror que no querian mirarlo—" all with great joy manifested how much Holy Mary suited them, shouting that all was very good; but the sight of the damned caused them such horror that they wished not to see it." It would be hardly credible that a grown-up man could write such nonsense—but there it is! The gentle, lovable Garcés, simple as a child in religion, his heart inflamed with zeal for souls, clutched at every straw which seemed to show which way the wind blew for his missionary enterprise. Font himself seems to have been immensely edified by the performance, though he was a stark theologian who detested and despised Indians, seeking their salvation only in an official and perfunctory manner. His Diary has the following on the same occasion. "In the evening Padre Garcés assembled the Indians, distributed a little tobacco and some beads, and then showed them a grand picture of the SSma Virgin with the infant Jesus in her arms, and they manifested a great joy and hurrah at seeing the image, and said, through the interpreters, that it was good, and that they wished to be christians in order to be as white and handsome as the Virgin, and that with pleasure would they be baptized; to the which he told them, that just now it could not be—some other time it might. He whipped about the cloth, on the reverse of which was painted a lost soul, and they raised a loud cry, saying that that did not suit them, etc. He did the same with the Gileños, Opas, and Yumas, and all responded alike, without manifesting repugnance to christianism; many rather desired it, and have begged to be baptized, but nobody has been baptized, because none have been catechised; and it is known that the people are could be well kept here. The Indians here raise countless calabashes and melons,[14] much corn and beans, with all of which the expedition was well supplied; and by bartering glass beads which the señor comandante gave to the troops a large stock of provisions was obtained. The whole expedition ceased

---

sufficiently disposed to enter into the holy church, whenever arrangements are made therefor; and that they do not refuse subjection to the law of God, and to our sovereign, for they say that they wish that Spaniards and priests may come to live with them. It seems to me that a great Christianity could be had in these nations; yet, such is the fickleness of Indians that a pretty big presidio is always necessary, in order that respect for force of arms may restrain any insult they might intend to offer in the process of reducing them to subjection." Font evidently knew the use of having two strings to your bow—the man with a musket to back up the man with a crucifix. He was a sagacious workman in the vineyard of the Lord.

[14] *Calabasas y melones*, perhaps better translated squashes and cantaloupes, or pumpkins and muskmelons. The Piman and Yuman tribes cultivated a full assortment of cucurbitaceous plants, not always easy to identify by their old Spanish names. The *sandia* was the watermelon, invariably; the *melon*, usually a musk-melon, or cantaloupe; the *calabasa*, a calabash, gourd, pumpkin, or squash of some sort, including one large rough kind like our crook-neck squash. The cantaloupe is properly *cantalu* in Spanish, but this word does not occur in records like Garcés'. Major Heintzelman says of the Yumans, p. 36 of his Report already cited: "They cultivate water melons, musk melons, pumpkins, corn and beans. The water melons are small and indifferent, musk melons large, and the pumpkins good. These latter they cut and dry for winter use."

not to extol this land. The 8th day I also remained here.[18]

---

[18] Font assigns the above-said exhibition of the Virgin to the 8th—very likely there was more than one such performance—and has much more for this day. It appears in his Diary that Garcés was balked in starting on his tour down river by the unwillingness of the interpreters to accompany him, for fear they might be killed, even though the padre should not be harmed. Font counseled him not to go alone, for there was no use of going to see the nations Garcés had already visited [in 1771]; that the present purpose was so to order his journey as to sound the minds of the people for catechism and christianism, which could not be done without interpreters; and so it would be best for Garcés to return to Eixarch and thence go to the Jalchedunes and neighboring nations; as for those down river, they could be got at when the presidio and mission should be established at the confluence of the Gila. Garcés was about to take this advice, when this night there came an Indian saying that Palma and Pablo intended to go down river on the other side, to secretly observe how the Indians treated the padre, accompanied by some of their people, both on horseback and afoot. Font said this was not right, for if Palma went in that fashion people down river would think him on the war path, and then it might go hard with the padre—better tell the Indian to go back to Palma and ask him not to take that trip, or at any rate, if he must take it, to do so openly, in company with the padre; for he whose heart was right had no need of secrecy. While the interpreters were talking this matter over, there came the Indian, a relative of Palma's, who had gone out to receive the expedition on Nov. 15, and who, after agreeing with Garcés that a messenger should be sent to Palma to tell the latter that he should not leave his rancheria, said that the thing to do was to send ahead of Garcés two women, either from among the slaves that there were among the Cajuenches,

Dec. 9. Having taken leave of the señor comandante, of Padre Font, and of all the expedition I departed, accompanied by several Cajuenches and one Yuma who lives among them, and by my interpreters. Having traveled 4 leagues southwest I arrived at the Rancherias called de la Merced,[16] in-

---

or from among persons of that nation who were married there, to say that Garcés was about to return to visit those whom he had seen before, bringing presents for them, and establishing peace with the Yumas; and this project so pleased the interpreters that they plucked up courage to go, and so Garcés held to his previous intention. Apparently wondering that he should do so, under circumstances which Font would never have utilized for missionary purposes, the latter indulges in some private reflections on Garcés. "Padre Garcés," he writes, "is so fit to get along with Indians, and go about among them, that he seems just like an Indian himself (*que no parece sino Indio*). He shows in everything the coolness of the Indian (*gasta una flema en todo como los Indios*); he squats cross-legged in a circle with them, or at night around the fire, for two or three hours or even longer, all absorbed, forgetting aught else, discoursing to them with great serenity and deliberation; and though the food of the Indians is as nasty and disgusting as their dirty selves, the padre eats it with great gusto, and says that it is appetising, and very nice. In fine, God has created him, I am sure, totally on purpose to hunt up these unhappy, ignorant and boorish people." What Padre Font does not say in his Diary, but doubtless thought is, "Faugh! what a fool that fellow Garcés is! Catch me doing anything of that sort!" There is all the difference between the Good Samaritan and the Pharisee. Font could have preached and quoted De Imitatione Christi; Garcés was imitating Christ.

[16] I know of no other reference to the Rancheria de la Merced,

habited by Cajuenches. In this land there is plenty of grass, with very heavy crops of calabashes, watermelons, corn, and beans; but little wheat grows. I gave them some tobacco, and through the Yumas who live among them I talked to them of God and his mysteries, and explained to them the pictures on the linen. They all showed great joy at seeing me; for no sooner had they known who I was and learned that I was among the Yumas than they expressed their desire to see me. The language of the Cajuenches is so very different from that of the Yumas that my interpreters could hardly use it; what I caused to be done was, that the interpreters should talk to the Yumas and these to the Cajuenches, inasmuch as they are neighboring nations who understand each other. It was really wonderful to see this land so abounding in crops, for the other time I was here, in the year 1771,[17] it was very barren; and on

---

the exact site of which is not now recoverable. According to his language, Garcés should be found somewhere west of a place on the river called Ogden's landing.

[17] This was Garcés *third entrada* (second 1770, first 1768): for details see this entrada, pp. 30-38. A point to be noted here is, that he distinctly affirms his previous being here, on the west side of the river, which has been questioned by some, *e. g.*, Bancroft, Hist. Ariz. and N. M., pp. 387, 388. True, Arricivita's account is obscure and confusing; but he distinctly makes the same affirmation that Garcés here confirms; so there can be no doubt of it.

my asking the reason why, they told me that they had also planted much then, but could gather no crops, because the Yumas were their enemies, who descended upon them in harvest time, killed them, and laid waste their milpas; but now that they are friends they have plenty to eat. I saw here about 300 souls.

Dec. 10. I went a league and a half southwest, following the rancherias, saw the same abundance of provisions, and they gave me the same reason therefor, saying that as they kept the peace with the Yumas which I effected on the former occasion when I was in their lands, now all was well with them; and for this, perhaps, was it that they showed me so much affection, and made me so many gifts; for it was a profusion of watermelons, muskmelons, corncakes (*panes de maiz*), gruels of seeds (*atoles*[18] *de semillas*), and fish[19] that they presented to me.

---

[18] *Atole* was a boiled mess or concoction which might be called soup, broth, gruel, porridge or mush, according to the consistency to which it was brought; any sort of grain or seed might enter into its composition.—E. C.

The Yumas planted wheat in the river and laguna bottoms in Dec. or Jan., which ripened in May and June. The Cajuenche also had some wheat, Garcés says. The atole, however, was possibly made of grass seed, as the Yumas at least are known to have raised it for food, though mesquite was their principal food, in all probability. It was usually prepared by pounding the pod in wooden mortars, then mixing the meal with water, kneading into a mass, and drying in the sun.—F. W. H.

[19] Doubtless all the coast tribes ate fish. The Navaho,

Dec. 11. To-day I only went about a league southwest. I observed this position with the quadrant that Padre Font had given me, and found it in 32° 25'.[20] There assembled at this rancheria an extraordinary crowd (*un desmedido gentio*). This day there came into it an Indian of the Cucapá[21] nation,

---

Apache, and Pueblos strictly tabooed it and everything else that came out of the water, especially sea water, regarding such as sacred.—F. W. H.

[20] To-day's league does not materially alter Garcés' position; and if we are to take his 32° 25' on its face, we must still hold him west of Ogden's landing,—rather above than below this place. His observations for latitude, as a rule, are less reliable than Font's, but in this instance I should suppose him to be about right.

[21] More properly *Cocopa.* This tribe, which, like all the Indians of Lower California, belongs to the Yuman stock, has occupied during historic times the lower Colorado from its mouth to a point about fifty miles up-stream where the Cuchan or Yuma rancherias formerly began, especially on the right bank of the river and extending into the mountains. They were once reputed to be a populous tribe, but probably on account of the incessant hostility of the Yumas, they were reduced to about a thousand by 1853. In arms, dress, manners, and customs they were quite similar to the Yuma; and indeed, from their general appearance it was difficult to distinguish one from the other. They were agriculturists, raising corn, melons, pumpkins, and beans, and eking out their somewhat precarious existence with grass seeds, roots, mesquite beans, fish, oysters, clams, mussels, etc.—in fact, nothing edible went amiss. The Alchedoma, Bagiopa, Coanopa, Cuculato, Cuñai, Hebonuma, and Quigyuma (or Quiquima) have been regarded as former Cocopa divisions. The name appears in literature also as Cacopa,

which occupies a wide area from the Laguna de San Matheo[22] to the sierra and the desemboguement of the Rio Colorado. This nation is hostile to the Jalliquamay or Quiquima,[23] to the Quemeya who live in

---

Cacupa, Cocapa, Cochopa, Co-co-pah, Cucapachas, Cucassus, Cucopa, Cucupah, Cupachas, Kokopa, etc.—F. W. H.

In June, 1852, Bartlett notices the Cocopa as follows, Narr., ii, p. 179: "Between the Gila and the Gulf, and near the latter, there is also found a tribe called the *Cocopas.* They occasionally visit Fort Yuma, and profess to be at peace with the Americans. They are less numerous than the Yumas, with whom they are at war. Recently a party of Yumas were surprised by them, their chief and many others killed, and the party completely routed. At the latest accounts the Yumas were preparing for a campaign against them; and as their numbers are much larger, it may result in the annihilation of the Cocopas, who would not be the first tribe which the warlike Yumas have extinguished."

[22] The Laguna de San Mattheo which Garcés gives as a limit of the Cocopas was some sluice or overflow channel of the Colorado, not now identifiable, and very likely non-existent; I find no such name anywhere else, excepting beyond, at date of Dec. 16.

[23] Of the Jalliquamay (Halliquamaya, Jallicuamai, Jallicuamay, Jallicumay, Tallignamay, Talligümai, Talliguamayque, Tlallaiguamaya. Tlalliquamalla, etc.) nothing is known beyond the fact that they were a Yuman tribe, allied to the Cocopa, residing on the lower Colorado, not far from its mouth. As Garcés states, they and their Cocopa kindred were not on friendly terms. The padre also intimates that they were the same as the Quiquima (Quigyuma, Quicima, Quihuima, Quigyama, Quimac, Quinquima, etc.), but whether or not this was true is now unknown. Indeed practically nothing more is known of these tribes than that which Garcés gives. On Kino's map the Qui-

the sierra, and to the Cajuenche. I warmly embraced this Cucapá Indian, and made much of him;

quimas are placed farther southward in Lower California on the eastern coast, being divided from the Bagiopas by the "Sierra Azul" of his map. Garcés seems to have been the first authority to apply the terms Jalliquamay and Quiquima to a single tribe, although they have many times since been loosely employed as distinctive names. From Zarate-Salmeron (1626), cited by Bandelier, Final Rep., i, 1890, p. 110, it appears that below the mouth of the Gila dwelt successively the Halchedoma, the Haclli, the Cohuana, the Halliquamayas, and finally the Cucupas, who ranged as far as the gulf. Bandelier here identifies the Halliquamayas with the Comoyei or Comeyá, but, notwithstanding the similarity in names, this is an evident error if we are to accept Garcés' assertion as authoritative. There is little doubt that Garces' Jalliquamay *or* Quiquima (p. 176) are the Quigyumas, Quicimas, Quihuimas, etc., of other writers, as above noted. They were visited in 1604 by Oñate, who mentions them under the name Tlalliguamayas, as living in six rancherias not far above the head of tidewater, where Kino (1701 and 1702) likewise found them as below noted.—F. W. H.

Kino visited the so-called Quiquima in Nov., 1701, and on the 19th entered the first of their rancherias on the east (Sonoran) side of the river, naming it San Felix de Valois. This was next to the last Yuman rancheria he called Santa Isabel. On the 21st, still going down the left bank, he crossed the river on a raft where it was 200 varas wide, naming this place La Presentacion. There, on the California side, he was still among the Quiquimas; he was visited by a throng of Coanopas, Cuteanas or Cutganas, and Giopas, Ojiopas, or Bagiopas; and was told he was only one day's journey from the mouth of the Colorado. Returning in Feb., 1702, with Father Francisco Gonzalez, he reached Santa Isabel March 1st, passed San Felix de Valois and La Presentacion, and came to a large and he told me that he already knew in his own country that I was traveling in these parts, and therefore came to see me on behalf of his nation. He was accompanied by an old woman; and I charged them both that they should deliver many greetings to their people, and should tell them that within three days I would come there. I showed them the crucifix, the breviary, and the compass-needle, that they might know I was the same who had been in their land years

Quiquima rancheria they named San Rudesindo. Continuing down the left bank they passed other rancherias of the same nation, one of which they named San Casimiro on the 4th; on the 5th they were at tide water (now Heintzelman's point); on the 6th they failed in an attempt to cross from the Sonoran to the Californian side, and on the 7th reached the very mouth of the Colorado—the first and last time Kino was ever actually there.

The Quiquimas long continued to be heard of by this name. Thus the Rudo Ensayo, written in 1762, p. 131, speaks of a portion of the Colorado that "affords ample space for a commodious dwelling place to the Cuhana nation; but on the other turn of the river, on resuming its course toward the South, there dwells, on a most fertile plain, ten or twelve leagues in length, on the left [bank], the nation of *Quiquionas*, the largest of all the nations along the river until it empties into the Gulf of California." This is a mere misprint for Quiquimas; for on p. 132, the Rudo Ensayo continues: "He [Kino] particularly sets down in his diary of that journey [of 1701] that, besides the *Quiquimas*, who are to be found on the other [left] side, there are Cutcanas, Coanopas, Ojiopas, etc." (names appearing elsewhere as Cutaganas, Coanopas, and Giopas).

past (1771), and with this I dismissed them. The Cajuenches continued to show their satisfaction with great dancing and much shouting, and in the evening I went the league above said, all full of crops.

Dec. 12. There gathered at the rancheria where I had slept a great crowd, almost all men, who were performing an extraordinary dance; and so great was the confusion of people that fell upon me when I came out of my little tent that I was obliged to retire into it, full of fear. At noon I heard great shoutings and noise of runnings about. I came forth, and learned the news that a Jalliquamay Indian had wounded a Cajuenche in such manner that the flint penetrated near the heart,[24] and it had entered through the shoulder, and also there had remained within (the wound) a part of the shaft; they determined to extract it in front, martyrizing him a second time. The medicine-man (*hechizero*) began to play his part of running, blowing, and gyrating. I commenced to pacify them when they sought to kill a young man whom they brought into my presence, and as this intention was not justified I told them that they should release him and that as soon as he went to his rancheria there would come others to defend him, whereupon both sides would be able to fight "a heap" (*de monton*). The old men shot arrows, and the boys came to gather up those that the other party shot. There were no further mishaps, except that one man was given a beating. I spoke to the captain of the rancheria, complaining that they should have so little sense (*tan poco entendimiento*) as to set themselves to fighting, I being here who came to put them all at peace. He replied to me that since it had happened it could not be helped, but that there would be no more of it (*que ya lo hecho no tenia remedio, pero que ya no habia mas*). The interpreters whom I brought, as they saw what was going on, told me that they were not going to the Cucapás in my company, and the Indians terrified them more by assuring them that those down river (*de abaxo*) would do the same with us if we passed through their lands; on which transit the guides refused (to go). Not only were these afraid, but also those who had accompanied me were terrified, and they made me depart with all haste, fearing that at night they might come to injure us, or the animals be stolen; to which I agreed, first catechising the wounded man as well as I could, who joyfully received holy baptism.

---

[24] The expression is: havia jareado á un Cajuenche de tal modo que se tocaba el pedernal cerca del corazon. Here *jareado* is for *hereado* or *herido*, and *pedernal* may be either arrowhead or spearhead; but as we are told that a piece of the shaft remained in the wound, doubtless it was an arrow with which the Cajuenche was shot.

At this rancheria ends the Cajuenche nation. I departed thence, and accompanied by many Jalliquamais traveled about 2 leagues east,[25] and arrived at a rancheria of the Jalliquamais nation, where I saw about 200 souls. Through these lands there is little grass but they have plenty of provisions, and are very generous Indians. I also noticed that these Indians are more cleanly than the Yumas and Cajuenches, and as the women do not paint so much they appear middling white. All received me with great pleasure and entertained me handsomely, and having spoken to them as well as I could of God, they seemed to believe what I told them; and at sight of the pictures they used the same expressions as the Cajuenches. I could not explain myself well to them, for though the idiom appears to be the same as that of the Cajuenches, yet it differs much.[26] My next project was to cross the Rio Colorado and thus go to

[25] We can only conjecture where Garcés was after these five miles. As he goes E., toward the river, the rancherias previously visited must have been on or near W. border of the flood-plain; and as he makes no southing, we cannot yet take him much if any below Ogden's landing. It is a pity he is not more explicit with topographical details, for no one gives the various tribal limits more definitely than he does, so that we should know them exactly, if we could identify his localities.

[26] This apparent contradiction in terms is easily explained. All these Indians were of the same (Yuman) linguistic stock, speaking different dialects of one language.

visit the Cucapa nation; and for this destination I departed the following day, as I will relate.

Dec. 13. I departed for the east, but could not follow that route, for all told me that neither to the east, nor to the south, were there any people; for, though it was true that I had seen many on the other occasion when I went alone through these parts, yet all had retired to that (*á aquella, i. e.*, to the other) side of the river through fear of the enemy. It was necessary to agree with them, and having turned from the east I took to the northeast, traveling about a league and a half, and halted at a rancheria of Jalliquamais of 200 souls, in form of a pueblo,[27] such as the Cajuenches also build, the one and the other the better to defend themselves thus from their enemies; in all these rancherias they received me well. Almost all these Jalliquamais were living in the year 1771 on the other side of the river in the rancherias which I then saw and named (Rancherias) de Santa Rosa.[28] Seeing that my purpose of crossing the river was frustrated, I determined to return to the nearest rancheria of the Cajuenches.

---

[27] That is to say, a village of more or less permanency, perhaps arranged in an orderly manner, perhaps with a plaza, etc., as distinguished from a rancheria, which might be occupied only at certain seasons.

[28] A name occurring nowhere else, to my knowledge, and of no other identification than present text affords. The inference is that Santa Rosa was inhabited in 1771 and had been since deserted. We are still somewhere in the vicinity of Ogden's landing, but at a point impossible to specify.

Dec. 14. I returned to the rancheria whence I departed the day before.

Dec. 15. I went 2 leagues west and halted near the rancheria of the wounded Indian whom I had baptized, as said above, and who had died that night in a rancheria which consisted of 200 souls of Jalliquamais and Cajuenches. In this rancheria I remained the whole day and also the next, because it was very cold; and all went well (*y lo pasé bien*).

Dec. 16. Having gone 3 leagues southsoutheast (*sic—sursueste*)[30] I arrived at the Laguna de San Mateo. The Cajuenches who accompanied me took me over in their arms, and leaving me on the other side departed; for here ends their land and commences that of the Cucapá nation to whom they are hostile. I pursued my route, and traveling 4 leagues in the same direction arrived at (a rancheria of) the

---

[30] I cannot help suspecting this to be an error for southsouth*west*, which is approximately the course of the river for many miles. Garcés could hardly go his 3+4=7 leagues S. E. to-day without running into the Colorado, from any position whence we can conjecture him to have started. Whatever the exact course, this is a long lap, ostensibly between 18 and 19 miles southward. I should suppose this distance to bring Garcés within a few miles of tide water at Heintzelman's point.

Cucapá nation; this was abandoned and destroyed, for here was the place where recently had fought the Yumas, Cajuenches, and Jalliquamais with the Cucapá. Here I camped ("made night"—*hise noche*), and regaled myself with some very savory watermelons. In all this land there is plenty of grass.

Dec. 18. When I was ready to resume my march, I saw some Indians who were passing on their way up; I called to them, and they came very joyfully, shouting as is their wont. These Indians were Cucapás; they told me that they were in search of me, that already had they gone forth once before for the same purpose, because already they had been given word that within three days I would come to visit them; that already were all their people expecting me. Here there is plenty of grass, much carrizo [*Phragmites communis*], and tule [*Scirpus californicus*, probably]; there are good mesas with a very beautiful prospect; and as the river is distant hence some 3 leagues, I consider that there could be founded here a good mission, without fear of inundations. I am persuaded that during the freshets this Laguna de San Mateo, which has now some 10 leagues of length, will be a large arm of the river; but its channel is so deep that no doubt it will keep free from overflow the mesas that there are in this locality. I mounted my horse and in 4 leagues southsoutheast, having on my right the Sierra de San Geronimo, distant about 3 leagues, I halted at a rancheria of Cucupás, who were so very numerous that though I began to make presents to them all I had to limit myself to only the women. Already had I halted when the Indian Sevastian, who was the only one that accompanied me, since the other two had stayed with the Cajuenches, possessed by fear, urged me not to remain here, as there was little grass, and the water was in wells (or pot-holes—*posos*), where the animals could not drink. With the object of entertaining us both, an old man who seemed to be a chief invited us, saying that he would conduct us to his house. Whereupon we departed, traveling 3 leagues southeast, on which route I found two rancherias. I arrived at the house of the old man after nightfall (*entrada la noche*); there were very many persons gathered here, and among them was an old woman who well understood the Yuma tongue. I spoke to them of peace, (saying) that now all the nations above continued friendly and would not come down to do them any harm, and that they themselves had no occasion now to go up to fight. This proposition suited them well; for they said that the wars had impoverished them and compelled them to live where there was little water and no wood. But the old woman would not believe what I said. I asked her about the two little boys whom I had baptized when I was in this country in the year 1771, and presently she fell a-weeping, saying, "now they are both dead—dost thou not remember that I am the mother of one of them?" I made some presents to all, and consoled the old woman by telling her that her son was now in heaven. As all the baggage (*ropa*) had been left with the Cajuenche interpreters, I could not exhibit the Virgin, though they begged me to do so; for they had been told by those who brought them my message that they had seen her at the Cajuenches and thus they knew that I was now carrying her (*que ya la llebaba*). But I told them about God and exhibited the crucifix, which they all kissed. All examined the breviary, and I had to show them all the leaves, because those who had seen them above had already told them that there were four or five, and so they were not satisfied to see only one. The compass-needle also I was obliged to pass from hand to hand, notwithstanding that they had already seen it on my other journey. I asked about the sea, and for those Indians who in the year 1771 took me across the river; and they replied that all were near by.

Dec. 19. In the morning I went 3 leagues south-southeast and southwest, visiting various rancherias consisting of people of the lowlands and of mountaineers (*de la tierra y Serranos*). At the last rancheria they insisted strongly upon my staying; but I did not do so because the Indian Sevastian did not wish it, for the reason that here there were no tulares and the water was in wells.[30] The Indians urged that I should not proceed, saying that further down there was no more grass or fresh water. But I did not mind them, and continued my journey, and soon (came upon) some shores (or beaches—*playas*) without grass, without water except that of some pools, and it was brackish. I halted on this strand, and took an observation as well as I could, and found the position to be in latitude 32° 17′.[31] I began again my journey south, with some deviations southwest and southeast, and continued along the same shore. The Indians who accompanied me, who were from the last rancheria whence I had departed in the morning, insisted that now there would be found no more good water nor grass; that all this land was covered by the sea at high tide (*quando crecia*). The Indian Sevastian then told me that the animals had not drunk during the whole day; for which reason I determined to return to the nearest rancheria, in order to take the road the following day, after a rest (*mas de espacio*). I did so, and that night arrived at the rancherias which I persuade myself are the last ones there are down river; and the other time that I was through here I called them (Rancherias) de las Llagas.[23] Here I met the Indians who in the year of

---

[30] *Posos*—not that we must understand wells artificially dug, but natural potholes or deep places in which water stood, as if in a well. This is the usual locution for water-holes in open country, those occurring among rocks being commonly called *tinajas*, and the latter being frequently known as "tanks" in Arizona, sometimes called *tanques* in Spanish. The *tulares* above said are low marshy places where grow tules or bulrushes and other coarse aquatic plants. A very extensive tract of country in California is known as the Tulares, and the term was also applied to Indians who lived there. The Californian tule or rush is of two species: *Scirpus californicus* of the latest botanical nomenclature, very similar to the widespread *S. lacustris* of North America and Europe, in fact sometimes known as *S. lacustris occidentalis*; and the more different *S. tatara*.

[31] This observation, if correct, would put Garcés almost exactly halfway between Ogden's landing and Heintzelman's point; but he comes to tidewater so soon that I think he must have been lower down.

---

[23] The rancherias of the wounds or sores (of Christ) are not now identifiable, but the statement is noteworthy as indicating about how far down the west side of the Colorado Garcés went in 1771. That these rancherias were within reach of the tide or bore of the river appears from a statement made by Garcés on the 22d, beyond. This would indicate a position somewhere below Heintzelman's point, which is at the head of tide water, or very nearly so. Regarding the name *Llagas*, it may be observed that Garcés was here or hereabouts in 1771 on Sept. 17, which is given as the day of the wounds or sores of the seraphic St. Francis Assisi, founder of the Franciscans, upon whom in his sleep an angel is said to have impressed the stigmata or llagas de Jesus, *sc.* the marks of the nails and spear

1771 had crossed me over the Rio Colorado; which was to them and to me a great comfort. To reach this rancheria I went from where I took the observation 4 leagues northeast.

Dec. 20. I remained in this rancheria, regaled the Indians, and as well as I could spoke to them of God and of having padres, which they heard with gusto. I observed this place and found it in latitude 32° 18′.

Dec. 21. I went five leagues along a very extensive shore with neither grass nor any tree, on a general southwest course, with some deviations southeast and south. I arrived at the water and found that it was the sea; for it was salt, though from being nevertheless mingled with that of the Rio Colorado it had not all the bitterness (*acrimonia*) which has that of the high sea (*del mar adentro*). This water made great waves like the sea; on the northeast it extended till

---

with which Christ was wounded at the crucifixion. St. Francis was Giovanni Francesco Bernardino, b. at Assisi in Italy in 1182, it is said with a nævus or birthmark of a cross on his shoulder; d. there Oct. 4, 1226. He is described as an uneducated, dissolute youth, who early in life had an illness which appears to have unsettled his mind, as he retired to voluntary poverty in the convent of Porciúncula, to found his order in 1210; confirmed by Pope Honorarius III. in 1223. The miraculous stigmata, according to the legend, were impressed upon him after a visit to Egypt, which he made in 1219. He was then a hermit at Monte Alverno. He was canonized by Gregory IX. in 1228, and calendared for Oct. 4.

the end was lost to view—*hasta perderle el fin*); on the south it was the same; and from east to west it would reach more than a league. Although now I knew by all the signs that I was on the sea and at the mouth of the Rio Colorado,[28] nevertheless to make myself more sure of this I went a little less than a league further down, ordered the Indian to get some water, and it could not be drunk for saltness. Then I retraced (*deshize*, "undid") this league that I had gone, and halted on the edge of the water in the place where I had (first) tried it. Here I camped for the

[28] That Garcés has fairly reached the mouth of the Colorado is obvious from all that he says. But I cannot pretend to stick a pin in any modern map and say that this is the very point. In the first place, there is no assurance that the hydrography of the Coloradan delta, with its lowlands alternately submerged and exposed every day, its numerous side-sluices and its tremendous "bore" or push of rushing waters heaped up from the Gulf in the straitening of their course, is now or lately much like what it was a hundred years ago. In fact, it is impossible to square Font's map, the only one we have for 1775, with modern charts, most of which I have studied with care for our present purpose. Yet there is a position which answers pretty well, on the whole, to the indications that Garcés gives. This is Arnold's point, about the upper end of the collateral channel called Hardy's Colorado, opposite Howard's Point, above Point Invincible and the five or six more or less well marked islands in the delta; and that such was Garcés' position, approximately, I have no doubt. It should be observed that Font brings the trail-dots clear down to the open coast of the Gulf, at an apparently impossible point.

night (*hise noche*). About dark I noticed that the current of the waters (*la corriente de las aguas, i. e.,* the tide) which in the morning ran toward the northeast, was turning to the southwest, and that it went down disclosing a low island; at the same time I heard a great noise of rushing waters [the "bore"], and hence inferred that the Rio Colorado runs to disembogue in the sea through two arms a little distance apart; but the next day I satisfied myself to the contrary.

Dec. 22. This (last) night I heard a very loud noise of waters; as soon as it was dawn I returned to the place where I had been the day before at dusk, and found that now was dry the whole shore (*playa,* strand, beach), nor was heard any noise of waters, there remaining only a little water in a tide-pool (*sanjon*),[14] into which I threw a stick to see if there were any current, but it was no longer running (*pero no se meneó*). That night had risen in the *zanjones* the water more than 30 paces (at the place where I was on the 21st). The water of the *zanjon* and of the other pools (*charcos*) which remained I saw was salt, but not so much so as that of the sea, from which I infer that on the 21st when I came to this spot I arrived at high tide, and that this is the legitimate disembogue of the Rio Colorado,[25] whose noise heard

---

[14] *Sanjon*—or *zanjon*, for copy has both forms—is literally a great ditch, here used for tide-pool, cut-off, sluice-way, or collateral channel of the river.

---

[25] We have seen the discovery of the mouth of the Colorado by Alarcon and Diaz in 1540; also, its rediscovery by Kino in 1702, March 7. In July, 1746, Fernando Consag entered the mouth by way of the Gulf; details may be read in Apost. Afanes, pp. 348-388: see also Venegas, ii, p. 308; Bartlett, Narr., ii, p. 170; Bancroft, No. Mex. St., i, pp. 463-464, with Consag's map reduced. On this map an island at the mouth is named San Ignacio. Garcés appears next, on the present journey—for we have no assurance that he descended quite so far in 1771. In 1826 Lieut. R. W. H. Hardy, R. N., made an exploration: see his Travels, London, 1829, p. 320. He put the mouth in lat. 30° 51′ N., long. 114° 01′ W. (it is about 115°). The rest of the case seems to be quite modern, subsequent to our occupation of California in 1847. Probably the original map of this period is Derby's, already cited, 4 m. to the inch, plotting the river up to Yuma. This marks Pelican and Gull islands near the mouth; Point Invincible in lat. 31° 50′ N., long. 114° 39′ W.; Howard's and Arnold's Points opposite each other, at the mouth of the river, where it was joined by the side sluice called Hardy's Colorado, inclosing a large island; and higher up Heintzelman's point, near the head of tidewater; then Ogden's landing, Algodonnes, Fort Defiance, and Camp Yuma, with the mouth of the Gila in lat. 32° 43′ 32″ N., long. 114° 32′ 51″ W.; such being almost his entire nomenclature. In 1857-58 came the detailed exploration of Lt. J. C. Ives, with full report and the beautiful map pub. in 1861. This has nearly the identical nomenclature of Derby's, and hardly any more names up to Yuma, though it marks Pedrick's at 32° 30′, close to where the U. S. and Mexican boundary line strikes the E. side of the river. His survey started at Camp No. 1, called Robinson's landing from the boat's captain (with whom I navigated the Colorado from Mojave to Yuma and back in 1865), near

115°
114°45'
114°30'
115°
114°45'
114°30'

SECTION OF IVES' MAP OF THE LOWER COLORADO

the preceding night was [the "bore"] of the next tide.

I returned to the Rancheria de las Llagas by the same road that I went on the 21st. The Indians told me, and I observed, that the tide reaches these rancherias; for here the shore is very flat. When the Rio Colorado overflows (*viene crecido*) these waters extend to the Sierra de Santa Barbara, which is a spur (*ramo*) of the sierra that, separated from the Sierra Madre de Californias,[28] runs southeast and

---

Unwin's point. Comparison of Derby's with Ives' map, so near together in dates, shows very notable discrepancies in the details of formation of the delta. It may be added that Derby marks the sites of three different Indian rancherias, presumably of Cocopas, all below the head of tidewater. The later maps I have, as that of the U. S. Hydrographic Office (1877, based on surveys by Commdr. George Dewey and officers of the U. S. S. Narragansett in 1873-75, corrected to 1895), of the War Department, etc., throw no further light on the situation.

[28] *Sic*, in the plural, probably not referring to the two modern Californias, but a reminder of the time when California was supposed to be an archipelago of many islands—Islas de las Californias. When Alarcon went up the Colorado in 1540 he proved to the contrary; but his discoveries were forgotten or ignored for many years, till, at the end of that century and beginning of the next, Father Kino made several journeys and took great pains for the main purpose of setting this matter right—though not with such complete success that many persons did not long continue in doubt on the subject. In later times, on the political and ecclesiastical separation of the two modern Californias, they were distinguished by several differ-

ends on these shores, leaving a large valley open hence to the Sierra de San Geronimo, which ends where I passed the night of the 18th. Thus I perceive that at time of the great risings of the river the water can very well overflow this valley or strand that there is between the two sierras of Santa Barbara and of San Geronimo,[17] as far as the place where the first expedition [of 1774] found stranded that heap of fish of which is made mention in the diary. Beyond the Sierra de Santa Barbara I saw another, somewhat larger, which begins in the Sierra Madre de Californias and comes to an end on the shore of the

---

ent pairs of antithetical names, as California Antigua or Vieja and California Nueva, California del Sur and California del Norte, California Baxa or Baja and California Alta—these last being of course the source of our Lower California and Upper California, though we have lately dropped the qualifying term for the latter.

[17] Garcés' Santa Barbara and San Geronimo mountains are easily recognized on any good modern map, but mostly without these or any other names. Sierra de Santa Barbara is the short range which lies immediately west of and runs approx. parallel with the Colorado river down to about opposite Heintzelman's point, where it ends, leaving the "valley or strand" between itself and the next range; which latter begins about opposite the mouth of the river, in the conspicuous white bluff called Range hill, 813 feet high, and continuous southward, approx. parallel with the west coast of the Gulf of California; this is Garcés' Sierra de San Geronimo. On one of my maps I find the other range lettered "Cocopas mts."

sea; this I called (Sierra) de la Natividad. Beyond (both of) these I saw another larger one which, arising also on the coast—I mean, in the Sierra Madre—ends likewise on the coast; this has at its point a pass or gap by which, according to what the Indians said, the waters communicated, and I called it (Puerto de) San Pedro. Looking eastward I discerned another sierra, high but short, which appeared to me to be the Sierra Prieta [38] that is about west of Sonoitac,[39]

[38] Immediately west of and south of Sonoita is the Sierra de Sonoita, "short and high," as Garcés says; but this is behind the range which immediately skirts the gulf on the Sonoran side, and I should suppose the latter range to be the one he means. This is the Sierra Nazareno or Nazarine range—the name dating back to Kino's time. Among its summits is a northern one called Pináculo or Pinnacle, 4,235 feet high, in the offing northeast of Adair bay; another is Table peak, 1,363 feet, over George's bay. Still the Sonoita mountains rise above 9,000 feet, and may have been in view from Garcés' position. There is a Sierra de la Cabeza Prieta, suggested by the name (Sierra Prieta) which Garcés uses, but this is entirely in Arizona, northwest of Sonoita.

[39] Sonoita, Sonoitac, Sonoitag, Sonoyta, etc., Sonoaita, etc., was a rather notable place in N. W. Sonora, just over the Arizona line, on a small water course sometimes called Rio Papago, sometimes Rio de Sonoita, and also on the most direct route, almost necessary to be taken for water, between several points on the lower Gila, and such places as Caborca, Saric, Tubutama, etc. It still exists, and may be found by its original name on modern maps. Its history dates from Feb. 16, 1699, when it was a Papago rancheria visited on that day by Kino, Adam Gil, and J. M. Mange—"la rancheria que intitulamos

of which I make mention in the year of 1771. I persuade myself by all the above said, which I have seen, that in the time of the lesser waters of the Rio Colorado it will be possible to pass this way to the missions of California Baxa.

During my stay (*pues estando yo*) in this place arrived many mountain Indians (*Indios Serranos*—the Comeyás) to eat of the fruits which those of these rancherias gather, and they asked me if I was going

---

San Marcelo de Sonoita" says Mange in his Diary, pub. in 1856, Doc. para Hist. Mex., 4th ser., i, p. 296. Some years afterward the name was changed to San Miguel de Sonoita, "in accordance with the wishes of the Marqués de Villapuente, who at his death in 1739 had endowed this mission and that of Busanic," Bancroft, No. Mex. St., i, p. 543. Such was its style as a mission in November, 1751, when it was destroyed in the dreadful Pima insurrection which laid waste also Saric, Tubutama, Caborca, etc., and cost many lives—among them that of Padre Henry or Henrique Ruen, Ruhen, Rhuen, or Ruhn, the missionary at Sonoita. Aside from perpetual Apache ravages, this revolt of Pima was the most serious disturbance Sonora ever suffered from the Indians. The Rudo Ensayo says, p. 167: "One single malcontent, one puffed up, haughty man like a Luis del Saric, with the reputation of a sorcerer, is sufficient to cause the ruin of a whole nation. We are still [in 1762] deploring the sad consequence of the rebellion plotted by this man in 1751, traces of which, together with the cruel Seris, still keep the royal troops in continual motion." The author, moralizing on the subject, gives as the "four foundations of Indian character" ignorance, ingratitude, inconstancy, and laziness—"the pivot on which the life of the Indian turns."

to visit the padres of California Baxa, or those of San Diego. These Serranos who come down to these nations of the river are different in many respects. They are very poor, they are very ugly, and degenerated (*desmedrados*); they are very dirty, on account of the much mezcal that they eat; their idiom is foreign to those of the river.[40] They were very affable to me, and to divert me they brought a girl of about 10 years, who, covering up what was most necessary, threw the right leg over the left shoulder, took a stick in the hand, and in this shape danced, ran, and leaped, repeating then (the performance) with the left leg; all the which was greeted with loud laughs by the Serranos and Cucapás of the rancherias where I was. Here they stole a knife that my Indian was carrying; at which the river Indians manifested so much feeling that if I had not interfered they would have destroyed the rancheria of the petty thief. It is evident that these poor (people) have never before seen domestic animals, especially mules; because the Indian Sevastian told me that they saluted them (the mules) as if they were people. This is certain, that two or three nights they removed the hobbles, and took them (the mules) to another rancheria to give them to eat calabashes. One day the jack mule mired down; and the Indians, seeing that he could not get out, all came to his assistance, took him in their arms, carried him to the fire, and warmed and consoled him.

---

[40] The Comeyá or Quemayá, with whom the Diegueño are also sometimes classed, had a different dialect from that of the Cocopas and other Yuman tribes of the Colorado of the same linguistic stock.—F. W. H.

Dec. 23. We departed for the east, and passing by a laguna, having gone half a league there was a rancheria of about 200 souls, and another which would appear to be of mountain Indians (*Serranos*). I made them some presents, and having gone about 4 leagues northwest [*sic*] and north approached the river opposite (*enfrente de*) some high hills which were on the other side of the river, to which in the diary of the year of 1771 I gave the name of Buenavista.[41] I said to the Indians, "See! that is the place where is to be situated (*donde se ha de poner*) the house of the padre and of the Españoles who may come with him." The Indians were overjoyed at this news, and told me that they would fetch the poles (*palos*) to build the house of the padre. I observe that this situation is the best, or one of the best, that there is on the Rio Colorado for founding a mission. It is a large and very high mesa immediately upon the river, with plenty of grass below it (*asia abajo*), and a cienega of water at a little distance. The Indians asked me when we should go on, for the fear that they have of the Indians above. From here they returned to their rancherias, and I continued my journey up river, examining well the places (passed) until (I reached) the Yumas.

---

[41] I cannot locate Buenavista, for I have not the Diary of 1771, and what Arricivita says of it throws no light on the situation. We quite lose the good padre here, and do not find him till he is with Eisarc again at Yuma. The place where anything which could be called a mesa touches the river on the east side is Ogden's landing; but it is certain that no mission was ever founded *there*.

I put the Cucapá nation at about 30 hundred souls. The Jalliquamais, at about 20 hundred. The Cajuenche, at about 30 hundred. Of the Serranos I could form no estimate, because I only saw those who came down to the river; but those of this (river) say that those of the sierra are few compared with themselves.

Until my arrival at the Yumas, where I had left my companion Padre Eisarc, I consumed the rest of the month of December, and three days of the following January.[43]

---

[43] I have nothing whatever of Garcés' movements for Dec. 24, 1775—Jan. 2, 1776. No doubt, however, he traveled up the west of the Colorado to Yuma, where we find him on the 3d.

CHAPTER V.

UP RIO COLORADO FROM YUMA TO MOJAVE, JANUARY, FEBRUARY, 1776.

Jan. 3, 1776. I arrived at the Puerto de la Concepcion at night, and unspeakable is the joy that I felt, finding my beloved Padre Eisarc in health and well content with the Yumas. He told me that in my absence they had served and obeyed him very well (*grandemente*), bringing wood and making him cakes to eat, almost in the same manner as it is done in the missions. I gave a thousand thanks to God to hear them sing some psalms divine that the padre had taught them, and to see that many came to hear mass. In all these pious things is singular the Captain Palma, who though still gentile would put to the blush (*era confusion de*) many veteran Christians by the reverence and humility with which he assisted at the holy sacrifice, imitating the most devout in making the sign of the cross, beating the breast, and other demonstrations of devotion. The padre has formed a concept, and I with him, that the Yumas are in a disposition proximate to Christianism, which nation will be able to aggregate themselves in a little while in the church. I asked the Captain Palma if he had any knowledge of God before he had treated with the padres. He replied to me, "Yes, though not so clear (an understanding) as now." In regard to the destiny of souls he coincided with the nonsense (*delirios*) already related of the Opas. He told me further that we did not feel the death of our relatives as they (the Yumas) that of theirs, since having seen funerals of Españoles (he knew that the Yumas) mourn not as we do. (This captain has been several times [1] in the Presidio del Altar,[2] as also in the Villa de San Miguel de Orcasitas,[8] when he went to visit the Señor Governador Don Francisco Antonio

---

[1] Twice, in March, 1778, and subsequently. In referring to these visits Garcés is not writing *ex post facto*, as his Diary was completed at Tubutama Jan. 3, 1777. The parenthetical statement is therefore an interpolation of the copyist or scholiast. I find it in parentheses in my copy, breaking in upon Garcés' statement of Spanish and Yuman mortuary ceremonies.

[2] The name of this place originated with Kino, on or about Mar. 19, 1694, when he was traveling with Mange down the river from Tubutama to Caborca on an entrada to the Sobas. Mange's diary of the trip may be read in Doc. para Hist. Mex., 4th ser., vol. i, p. 242, *seq.*: see also my notice of Kino, beyond. The name clung to the place, which later became, as it is now, the principal one on the river, and was early extended to the whole river, which in 1694 was known as Rio de Tubutama; it is the principal branch of the one known as Rio de la Asuncion, Rio de San Ignacio, and sometimes Rio Magdalena. Altar is the present name of the place and of the river. El Altar,

---

the place, was a settlement of the Soba branch of the Papago tribe, and was known as Pitic (not to be confounded with Pitic, otherwise San Pedro de la Conquista, the Seri rancheria that became the present town of Hermosilla on Rio de Sonora; presidio founded there 1741). In 1694 the mission of Tubutama was in charge of Daniel Januski, or Janusqui, who had come in 1693; but after the mission of Caborca was founded Pitic or Altar became a visita of the latter, prior to 1701, and had 313 inhabitants in 1730. In 1753-54 the Presidio del Altar was established, in consequence of the great Pima revolt of 1751, under Captain Don Bernardo de Urrea, with a garrison of about 50 men, these being 20 added to the 30 of the old Presidio de Cinaloa which was removed to Buenavista at the Yaqui rebellion of 1741, and to Pimeria Alta in 1751: see Rudo Ensayo, p. 255.

[8] Orcasitas, or Horcasitas, or San Miguel de Orcasitas, was a place on Rio de San Miguel or Rio de Horcasitas, the principal branch of Rio de Sonora. The place will be found on some modern maps by the name simply of San Miguel. Horcasitas is a part of the name of Don Juan Francisco de Güemes y Horcasitas, otherwise Conde de Revilla Gigedo, 41st viceroy of New Spain, July 9, 1746, to 1755. San Miguel de Horcasitas, the town, and its presidio of the same name, were close together on the left bank of the river. In 1741, when Don Augustin Vildasola became governor of Sonora, two new presidios were erected, one of them at Pitic (or San Pedro de la Conquista, modern Hermosilla), which was ordered to be disestablished in 1744. But the governor resisted, and the order was not at once carried into effect, as we have record of the Presidio de Pitiqui for a few years (for example in Villa-Señor y Sanchez, Teatro Amer., ii, 1748, p. 392). This presidio appears, however, to have been moved about 1748-50 from Pitic to Horcasitas,

Crespo,[4] and to beg him that there should come to his land padres and Españoles.) How this nation and the others that I have seen do (mourn their dead) I will tell in the reflections that I will give at the end (of this Diary).

One day of those that I was here came the Cocomaricopas and Jalchedunes, and according to what the interpreter told me Captain Palma spoke to them in this manner: "Now are we brothers who formerly were enemies. This good has come upon us by means of the padres and Españoles, on whose account have I already laid down arms. Think not that this has been through fear; for indeed ye know that I have many people, and that now are my friends the Cajuenches, Quemayás, Yabipais, and Jamajabs. They have told me that ye Jalchedunes are not firm in the peace which we have made. Take up arms if ye will;

---

and the new Presidio de Horcasitas thus founded long continued a notable post in its new site. In 1763 it was one of the five Sonoran presidios, the four others being at Altar, Tubac, Terrenate, and Fronteras; at this date the neighboring town of San Miguel de Horcasitas was the most populous and poorest place in the vicinity, and the presidio was the residence of the governor. About this time the place seems to have had some claim or pretension to be considered the capital of Sonora, but does not appear to have ever actually enjoyed that distinction.

[4] Governor of Sonora and Sinaloa from 1774, when he succeeded Mateo Sastre, to the organization of the Provincias Internas in 1777.

but I am enough, with the Españoles, to chastise ye. Tell me, who are we, that we should oppose the soldiers? These are now on the march; for indeed ye know that there are Españoles on the coast,[5] and near Moqui."

From this discourse it is seen that Indians are not such fools as some think; and that by special divine providence they are afraid where there is nothing to fear.[6]

In these days I baptized seven moribund persons.

As the Danzarines, who live in the sierra at the Puerto de San Carlos[7] and thence northward, saw that their friends the Jalchedunes had already made peace with the Yumas, and knew that we were there, they came down and made peace also. This nation, whom on the former expedition we called Danzarines on account of the ridiculous gesticulations they make when they talk, is known to the nations on the river by the name of Jequiches.[8]

---

[5] Of California, at San Diego de Alcala (but mission destroyed Nov. 4, 1775), San Carlos de Monterey, San Gabriel Arcángel, San Luis Obispo, and San Juan Capistrano (begun 1775, but not formally existent till Nov. 1, 1776). Padre Escalante was, in 1775, the missionary at Zuñi, "near Moqui."

[6] In the original: "En este discurso se ve que los Indios no son tan tontos como algunos piensan, y que por especial providencia divina temen donde no hay que temer"—that is to say, it took a miracle to make such clever Indians afraid to oppose the Spaniards under the circumstances.

[7] Puerto de San Carlos or St. Charles pass can be located with precision as the modern San Gorgonio pass or San Timotéo cañon, through which the railroad runs between the San Bernardino mts. on the N. and the San Jacinto mts. on the S.; stations San Gorgonio, Banning, San Jacinto, Whitewater, etc. It was named Mar. 15, 1774, on Anza's expedition with Garcés and Juan Diaz; on the 20th they crossed Rio de Santa Ana, and on the 22d were at the mission of San Gabriel. This fixes the habitat of the otherwise somewhat elusive Dan-

In token of friendship the Cajuenches called upon Palma and his friends to come down on a tour through their lands to eat calabashes.

There came one day a Quemayá who brought word that he had heard (*refirió segun trajeron el recado*) that

---

zarines or Jequiches, lettered "Jecuich" on the map Font made at Tubutama in 1777. We hear of the Puerto de San Carlos again, in connection with our present expedition of 1775-76; for on p. 87 of Font's Diary, at date of Dec. 26, 1775, we read that the expedition left a certain dry arroyo at 9.15 a. m., and at 2.00 p. m. halted in a piece of low ground (*bajio*) immediately under the steep rocks (*peñascos*) which form the Puerto de la Sierra Madre de California, called the Puerto de San Carlos, etc. On the 31st they were on the Rio de Santa Ana, and they arrived at the mission of San Gabriel Jan. 4, 1776.

[8] This was the Yuman name of these Indians, whom Garcés called the "Dancers." They were probably of Shoshonean stock, and we may look for their survivors among the so-called Mission Indians. Just north of the Puerto de San Carlos or San Gorgonio pass was the boundary between the Shoshonean tribes and the Yuman. The name appears as Tecuiche in José Cortes, as quoted in Whipple's Report, iii, pt. 3, p. 125, where we read that they "have their hordes as far as the port of San Carlos"—apparently a statement derived from Garcés.—F. W. H.

already were united two or three nations to fight against the Españoles of the seacoast; that already had they killed a padre and burned his house; that to the Españoles who had passed through the Yumas[9] they had done nothing, because they knew that they (Spaniards) were their (Yumas') friends; that if these Españoles united themselves with those that there were on the coast and should make war together, then they (the Indians) would defend themselves and rob them (the Spaniards) of all they possessed; that he brought this message on behalf of his nation, because they well knew that they were very old friends; that they did not seek to take up arms, but only to remain quiet if perchance there should be war. As almost every day we heard various idle tales (*cuentos*) that the Indians told us, we did not then credit (*no dimos asenso entonses á*) this information; but it turned out to be true.[10] It is easily seen how important it is to

---

[9] That is, to the Spaniards of Anza's present expedition of 1775-76, which had just passed through the Yumas and not been molested on the coast of California while en route to San Francisco.

[10] Unfortunately it was only too true, for this report was that of the outbreak at San Diego of Nov. 4, 1775, when Padre Luis Jaume or Jaime and others were killed, and the mission was temporarily broken up by the Diegueños. This was the first mission ever established in California Alta; its full name was San Diego de Alcalá, the same as that long before given by Vizcaino to the Bay of San Diego on which the foundation was

MISSION OF SAN DIEGO. FRONT VIEW

Photograph by A. C. Vroman

have on our side the nations of the river, not only in order that we may be able to pass whenever it may

made, so called from St. James of Alcalá in Spain, a Franciscan friar who lived 1400-63, was canonized 1588, and still has his day on Nov. 12. About 40 persons of all sorts formed the settlement at the Indian rancheria Cosoy, identical with modern Old Town on the bay, on Sunday, July 16, 1769, when Padre Junipero Serra formally started the establishment by raising and blessing the cross and executing the other ecclesiastical functions which were "to put to flight all the hosts of hell and subject to the mild yoke of our holy faith the barbarity of the gentile Dieguinos." But these gentile, though not gentle, barbarians were a squalid and stolid set who did not fancy a yoke of any sort, and preferred to go scot-free in the ways to which they had been used, as we shall see. The original site of the mission, and of the presidio founded there very soon afterward, did not prove desirable, and by 1773 there were several propositions made for its removal. The change was made in August, 1774, when the mission was moved about five miles northeastward, up the valley, to a place called by the Indians Nipaguay, some six miles from the present harbor and city of San Diego. Hence the mission was often called San Diego de Nipaguay, and by the end of 1774 consisted of a wooden church thatched with tule, 57 x 18 feet, an adobe blacksmith's shop, several dwellings or storehouses, etc. There had been no great change from this condition at the time when the storm burst, on the night of Nov. 4-5, 1775, without any warning. The disaffected Diegueños attacked and burned the mission, killing Padre Jaume and several other persons of the little company of eleven Spaniards. The cause of the outbreak is not very specific, but seems rather to have been a general dissatisfaction of the Indians far and near at the way they were treated by their new masters; it is therefore the same old story. We have full details of the disaster, as in the report of Nov. 30, be convenient to the establishments of Monte-Rei, but also in order that these may subsist; as I will make clear at the end of the Diary.

Besides the continual visits which the Jalchedunes made us, there arrived here nine Indians whose nation they here call Yabipias Tejua,[11] and we Apaches.

1775, by Lieut. Ortega to Lt.-Col. Anza, and in the mission books, especially the account by Padre Fuster, who survived his compadre Jaume: for these and other original sources of information, see Bancroft, Hist. Cal., i, pp. 249-256. The San Diego mission was re-established in October of the next year, 1776, and continued to flourish without special mishap till its abolition in 1834.

[11] This tribe is more widely known under the name Apache Mohave, meaning "hostile" or "wild" Mohaves, and not indicating an admixture of Apache and Mohave. When they first became definitely known the Yavapai or Apache Mohave occupied the interior region of western Arizona from Bill Williams fork southward to Castle Dome, Eagletail, and Bighorn mountains, eastward to the vicinity of a line drawn about south of Prescott. They seem gradually to have drifted eastward, and in 1873, when they were rounded up and placed under the Rio Verde agency, they claimed as their territory the valley of the Verde and the Black mesa, and from the Rio Salado northward to the neighborhood of Bill Williams mountain. At this time they are said to have numbered about 1,000. In 1875 they were removed to San Carlos Agency, Arizona, where they now number 526. The name is said to be derived from a native term signifying "sun people." Other forms are: Cruzados (of Oñate, 1604); Jum-pys, Nichoras, Niforas, Nigoras, Nijor, Nijoras (Pima name); Nijotes, Niojoras, Nixoras (in Font), Nyavapai, Tontos (not the Tonto Apache), Tubessias, Yabapais,

These Yabipais are old friends of the Yumas, and so they had a great feast. They came as they are accustomed to do every year, to eat of the fruits of the land; they come in winter, for then is the road good, which is a five-days' journey through very rough (*quebrada*, broken) country. These Yabipais danced whilst we were eating, and afterward we showed them the images, vestments, and other trifles (*y demas cositas*) which we possessed; at all of which they manifested great complacency, and the next day they heard mass with the same attention as Captain Palma (did). There was a Yuma who understood the Yabipai language well, and by this means I asked them how they lived; on what did they subsist; who were their friends; and whether they ever came to the land of the Españoles, or the Españoles to theirs. They replied that they lived scattered about (*esparramados*); that the regular means of subsistence was the chase, though they also

Yabijoias, Yabipaces, Yabipaíye, Yabipay, Yabipias, Yalipays, Yampáiò, Yampais, Yampaos, Yampas, Yampay, Yampi, Yampias, Yapapi, Yavape, Yavapies, Yavaipais, Yavipay, Yubipias, Yubissias, Yum-pis, Yupapais, Yurapeis.

"The *Tejuas* are neighbors [of the Mohave] on the east bank of the Colorado, below the little Colorado," says Taylor in California Farmer, Jan. 31, 1862. This would make them Yuman, and doubtless a branch of the Yavapai. They of course have no connection with the Tigua or Tegua, pueblo Indians of New Mexico.—F. W. H.

raised some corn and a few calabashes; that their old friends are the Yumas, Jamajabs, and (certain) other Yabipais of the east who are enemies of the Españoles, and that these never have come to their lands, nor have they themselves ever gone to those of the Españoles; that they are enemies of (certain) other Yabipais that there are on the north of the Moquinos (Moquis), of the Cocomaricopas and (Pimas) Gileños; but once that all made peace, as indeed they saw and had heard said (was to be done), then they would do likewise with all; and (they said) also that they knew that the Yabipais of the East, their friends, had great fear because many Españoles were entering into their lands. I told them that they should seek to live all together in some good place, and give their children for baptism; that I would come to see them, and they should procure peace with all their enemies; that soon would come the padres and the Españoles to live on the Rio Gila and also on the Rio Colorado; then no longer would be their enemies either the Jalchedunes, or the Yabipais of the North, or the Moquinos, because these are friends of the Españoles of New Mexico; and thus would everything be settled (*todo se compondria*). They replied that on returning to their land they would assemble the people, and tell them all that Captain Palma and I said. To the nine I gave to understand that Españoles only do harm to bad people, and when they cease to be bad, then war ceases.

These Yabipais reported, and the same did the Cocomaricopas, that the Rio Gila was beginning to rise and would run much water; and for this reason was it necessary to move the hut (*xacal*) from the house of Captain Palma to the Puerto de la Concepcion. Padre Fray Tomás did this, aided by the interpreters and by some Yumas. Not because these Indians assisted in this work is it to be supposed that the gentiles can be compelled hereafter to build the habitation of the minister, or the church, for already are known the evils which may result; and this being considered a thing certain and just, it will be necessary for these first buildings to go on under the hands of the Españoles, or of the soldiers themselves, in so far at least that there may be an adobe apartment in which can be kept safe from accidental or incendiary fire our most valuable and necessary possessions.[18]

---

[18] Garcés is thinking of certain official regulations or restrictions regarding employment of Indians in the construction of buildings for the Spaniards. The whole sentence, not easy to render word for word, stands as follows in the original: "No por que estos Indios ayudaron á este trabajo se ha de pensar que se puede obligar desde luego a los Gentiles á que hagan la avitacion (for *habitacion*) del Ministro é Yglesia pues se deja conocer las malas resultas que puede tener, y supuesto esto como cosa cierta y justa, será preciso que estas primeras fabricas

One day during my stay here I went down to the Puerto de San Pablo, to examine more carefully the site where could be best founded the mission. I found one very advantageous, between the sierra and the shore (*medanal*), among some high hills that are beyond the puerto, in whose immediate vicinity there is a channel (*zanjon*) through which runs the water when the river is high; and when it is not, with facility can be dug wells which may hold much water; and even now water can be had by opening a little the *paderon*[18] of the river. This situation affords plenty of grass, and I consider it as very much to the purpose of founding a mission.

---

corren por mano de los Españoles, ó de los mismos Soldados como tambien que á lo menos una pieza sea de adove para poder guardar en ella libre de un Yncendio casual ó maquinado lo mas precioso ó preciso que se llebe."

[18] The clause runs: "y aun se puede hazer ya por ella abriendo un poco el *Paderon* del Rio." This word *paderon* would be a corker, could we not discover that it is an anagram by the scribe's slip of the pen for *paredon*, large wall, *sc.* high bank of the river. The Beaumont MS., fol. 17, and the pub. Doc., p. 267, both read *paredon*. Nevertheless it is a curious fact that in Arizona to-day you can hear *paderon* said by Mexicans as a sort of provincialism. Garcés means that if the wells he speaks of should not answer, water could be fetched directly from the river or from the side channel. The whole passage is in good evidence of the position I have already assigned to San Pablo, in the immediate vicinity of modern Pilot Knob, which makes a sort of puerto where the river turns sharp from west to south.

During this period the Jalchedunes came repeatedly to see me, and urged me to go to their land. I gladly agreed to do so, on condition that (*con tal que*) they should conduct me afterward to the Jamajabs. To this they objected, for fear that I should be of assistance to them (*i. e.*, to the Jamajabs), and concluded that not (would they do so); but that they would take me all through their land, and then accompany me (back) to the Yumas. Seeing this repugnance I determined to go first to the Jamajabs with an Indian of that nation who was here.

Feb. 14. Having taken leave of my companion I departed from the Puerto de la Concepcion in company with two interpreters, Sevastian and a Jamajab, and went 2½ leagues northwest.

Feb. 15. I went two leagues in the same direction.[14]

Feb. 16. I set out to the westnorthwest and went two leagues, passing the Sierra de San Pablo[15] through a gap, and on the other side found rain water in a cañada. The old interpreter whom I brought is versed in mines, and told me that this land indicated much gold, for there was much *tepustéte de color.*[18] In this land there is little grass. I called this Aguage de San Marzelo.

---

[14] Having started from Yuma, Garcés goes up the Colorado on the California side, but for these first two days bears away from the river, which is here flowing about southsouthwest, he going northwest. His twelve miles for the two days should place him opposite and west of the Purple hills, but not yet abreast of Chimney Rock.

[15] The Sierra de San Pablo, it will be remembered, is Garcés' own name for the range which reaches from the vicinity of Chimney Rock southward to Pilot Knob. He is now west of

Feb. 17. I went one league northwest.

Feb. 18. I went 4 leagues northwest. Soon after my start this day I sighted the Cavesa del Gigante on

---

this range, but not yet up to the Rock, of which he does not speak till the 18th. His mileage is excessive, for any direct distance from Yuma, but doubtless much less so by the way he came. He finds water in a box-cañon, and names this aguage or watering place in the rocks for St. Marcellus.

[18] *Tepustéte* is a word derived from the Nahuatl *tepustetl* = *tepuztli* metal, + *tetl*, stone, and will not be found in ordinary Spanish dictionaries. It means a kind of rock which was regarded as a sign of gold. Thus the author of the Rudo Ensayo, p. 243: ". . . the idea that the ground contains those qualities which concur in the generation and maturation of gold. This occurs particularly in those places where the stones called *tepustete* are found, which are very heavy like stones of lead. They are called 'gold guide' because if the ground is dug wherever the *tepustete* is found there is a certainty of finding gold." Again, the Diario y Derrotero of Escalante, 1776-77, in the pub. Doc. of 1854, p. 435, speaks of a rock "que los mineros llaman *Tepustete*, y que era indicio de mineral de oro." A similar word, *tepetete*, is in modern mining use for the rubbish or tailings left when ore is cleaned up, and also for barren rock through which a vein of ore runs. This is apparently the Nahuatl *tepetlatl*, meaning limestone.

the east. Also I discerned the great Medanal de San Sevastian and its surroundings, and passed near the Peñon de la Campana, which from here has a diverse aspect.[17]

Feb. 19. I went 8 leagues north with some short turns northnortheast, and passed the sierra [18] that is north of the great Medanal (de San Sevastian) by a very easy gap. The watering-place where I camped consists of several tanks (*tinajas*) that are on the surface of the ground in a cañada, with conveniences for the animals to drink; there is also much grass. I called this place (Aguage de) San Joseph.[19] From here it is one day's journey to the river, traveling to the east, and another of the same length to the Jequiches, on which they tell me there are many lagunas of water which, though somewhat saline, is not undrinkable (*no impide el beberse*); from all of which it is inferred that this road is more suitable than that which the expedition has taken.[20]

---

[17] The Cabesa del Gigante or Giant's Head we have already (p. 162) found to be Castle Dome, the most conspicuous feature of the range of the same name on the E. side of the Colorado. As Garcés sights it on the E., he evidently started to-day from the vicinity of Chimney Rock, which he says he passed near; for this is his Peñon de la Campana, called by Font Peñasca de la Campana on Dec. 4, *antea*, note [6], p. 162; the terms both mean "great rock of the bell," or Bell peak; the applicability of which will be evident to one who knows the shape of this remarkable landmark: see, for example, the fine view of the peak which forms the frontispiece of Lt. Ives' report, pub. 1861. It bears about 15 miles N. N. W. of Fort Yuma in air-line, and has a different appearance at such distance from that which it presents as Garcés passes near it on its west. The Medanal de San Sebastian, of which he speaks, is the great sandy plain or desert to his left.

[18] This sierra is simply the extension of the great San Bernardino range to the Colorado, where it takes the name of Chocolate hills on both sides of the river.

Feb. 20. I tarried and took an observation in this Parage de San Joseph, finding it to be in 33° 28′. There is a sierra in this aguage that runs from west to east and unites with that of California.

Feb. 21. I went a league and a half northnorthwest and two (leagues) eastnortheast; passed the sierra, and arrived at a valley[21] where I met a party (*una patrulla*) of Jamajab Indians who would be about 80; they were going down to the Yumas, moved by the reports that they had heard. These I comforted and regaled, for they were going very hungry; and having spoken of the peace made between the Yumas and Jalchedunes, they told me that they were taking with them two captive Jalchedun women. These I begged them for with great insistency; and many objections being overcome, I succeeded in that they gave them to me for a poor horse and some other small presents. They proceeded on their route, the greater part of them, there remaining the captain and some others here with me, where we passed the night; and the animals went to drink at San Joseph.

---

[19] San Joseph of the text appears elsewhere in the more usual form of San José. The location is not easy to find, and I know of no modern equivalent of the name.

[20] The direct route thus indicated is that now taken by the railroad; the expedition went roundabout, much further south.

[21] Still south of the Halfway mts., and at a considerable distance from the river; but we lack data for greater precision, and have no modern names of places along here.

Feb. 22. I went four leagues northnorthwest and two eastnortheast, in a roundabout way (*rodeando*), because they told me that the packmules could not proceed on a direct course (*por derecho*).

Feb. 23. I went two leagues eastnortheast and four north. After surmounting a sierra that comes from the west, which I called Santa Margarita,[illegible] I found myself on the border of the Rio Colorado. I passed a valley and arrived at an aguage that is in a cañada of another sierra[illegible] which comes likewise from the west. This route is not necessary; for I came thus roundabout on account of the Jamajabs being at war with the Jalchedunes.

Feb. 24. I observed this position and found it in 33° 25′. In the afternoon I went a league and a half

---

[illegible] This sierra de Santa Margarita is apparently the range now known as the Halfway mts.

[illegible] This other sierra is the Riverside mts.

west, winding about because the passage of the sierra is bad.[34]

Feb. 25. I passed over the sierra by a good gap on a northwest course and by the westnorthwest arrived at the Tinajas del Tesquier,[35] having gone three leagues. Said tinajas hold plenty of water, and are very commodious for the animals to drink. This aguage is one day's journey from the river, and admits of passage (*proporciona el camino*) from the Jalchedunes to the Jenequiches,[36] who are those of the

---

[34] He went westward of his way to find the good gap in the mountain crossed next day.

[35] Tesquier, plainly, in my copy. Beaumont MS., foja 17 vuelta, has Tesquien, and pub. Doc., p. 270, prints Tezquien.

[36] Of the Jenequiches we know no more than Garcés says. His location of them on the Rio Santa Anna agrees with Font's map, on which the "Jenicueich" appear among the mountains of California, in the vicinity of the "Jecuich" (the Jequiches or Danzarines of Garcés). The name has appeared as Tenequeches by mistaking manuscript J for T. Thus José Cortes, who seems to have cribbed most of his matter from Garcés, and bungled it in the process, says in Whipple's Report, iii, pt. 3, p. 125, that the Teniqueches "adjoin the Talchedums and the mission of Santa Ana," by which he means San Gabriel. This throws light on who these and the Tecuiche or Jecuiche actually were. Eliminating the first syllable we have the Spanish form of Kizh (sig. "houses"), a division of the Kavouya (Cahuilla, Coahuila, etc.) of Shoshonean stock (according to Gatschet) and the name of the natives of San Gabriel (according to Hale). It is practically impossible to fix the bounds of any of these tribes, as they seem to have roamed at will.—F. W. H.

Rio de Santa Anna.[27] In the evening I went three leagues through quite a difficult sandy place (*por un medano bastante penoso*).

Feb. 26. I determined to send to their home the little Jalchedunes (*Inditas Jalchedunes*) whom I had rescued from captivity, which I did, with the old interpreter, and with many assurances of my friendship, such as that he should say to them on my part that already were they friends, and that they had ceased to war with the Jamajabs; and that he should await me there. The Jamajab captain who was going with me made a great harangue to the Indian women (*Indias*) and to the interpreter, in order that they should repeat it there, breaking a bow and throwing away the arrows in his presence, as a sign of veritable peace.

This day I went eight leagues northnortheast and north. I passed through the gap of a sierra that runs northwest, and at its base made a halt at some small springs of water that I called (Ojitos) del Santo Angel, where I met some 40 persons of the Chemebet[28] nation. Six Indians of this nation that were on a hill came down as soon as we called them, with the speed of deer, and regaled me with very good mezcal. The garb of these Indians is, Apáche mocassins (*sapato*), shirt of antelope skin (*vestido de gamusa*), white headdress like a cap (*gorra blanca á modo de solidéo*) with a bunch of those very curious feathers which certain birds of this country have in their crest. These Indians give me the impression of being the most swift-footed of any I have seen. This nation inhabits the territory that there is between the

---

[27] Present name of the river in the San Bernardino valley of California: see beyond, date of Mar. 22.

[28] The Chemebet and Chemeguagua of Garcés (beyond) are synonymous, being the *Chemehuevi.* These were the most southerly of the Paiute tribes, of Shoshonean stock, formerly occupying two distinct areas. The first was in Nev. and Colo.,

west of the great bend of the Colorado, as far as Providence mts.; there were probably several hundred of these. Another, formerly (1853) in five bands (the names of which are not known) occupied the E. bank of the Colorado between Bill Williams fork and the Needles, being thus, in later times at least, between the Cuchan and the Mohave, both Yuman tribes, with whom the Chemehuevi were on friendly terms. Their chief seat was the beautiful Chemehuevi valley, extending 8 or 10 miles—in width for 5 miles—along the river. They are agriculturists and are physically inferior to their Yuman neighbors. There are about 300 on the Colo. Riv. reservation, and probably a few at Moapa agency; others probably roam with their kindred, the Paiute. Other forms: Chemahuava, Chemawawa, Chemchuevis, Chemegerabas, Chemehueris, Chemehuevitz, Chemeonáhas, Chemiguabos, Chemiheavis, Chemihuahua, Chemihuevis, Cheminares, Chimawava, Chimchinves, Chimehwhuebes, Chimhuevas, Chimohueois, Chimwoyos, Genigneihs, Itchi-mehueros (Mohave and Walapai name), Kemahwivi, Simojueves. Their own name is Tantawats, which signifies "southern men" (Powell), evidently in reference to their habitat, which is south of that of the other Paiute tribes.—F. W. H.

Beñemé, a tract of land very scant of water, following thence the border of the Rio Colorado on the northern side as far as (*hasta llegar á*) the Yuta nation, of whom they give much information; and they are friends of these, as enemies of the Comanches and Moquis. The Chemebets say that their nation extends to another river, north of the Colorado, and that there they sow. They also keep friendship with the Apaches Tejua; they have a language distinct from all the nations of the river; they are intimate friends of the Jamajabs, and when these break their weapons, so do they also. They make some baskets (*coritas*) [39] very similar to those of the

---

[39] *Corita* is the name now used in Mexico for a sort of pannier borne by pack-mules; it is not a Spanish dictionary word, and Garcés' meaning of "basket" is not evident at first sight. But a passage in Ortega, Apost. Afanes, 1754, p. 298, clears up this matter: "Los [Indios] que estavan à la [orilla] del Poniente [del Rio Colorado] passaron los mas à nado à la contraria, para saludar al Padre [Kino], y en unas bateas, qui son proprias de la Pimeria Alta, texidas de ciertas particulares yervas vistomente entreveradas, que llegan à recibir el agua, sin que pueda penetrar dentro, traxeron sus comidas, y sustento. Mas en este parage las bateas llamadas *coritas*, que en la Pimeria son por lo comun mas pequeñas, eran tan crecidas, que cargavan mas de una fanega de maiz, y los Indios por el rio, rempujandolas à manera de barquitas andantes, las trasportavan à la otra banda"—that is to say, in fine, most of the Indians who were across the river swam over to salute Father Kino, bringing their victuals in vessels (*bateas*) proper to Pimeria Alta, woven

Canal.[29] Through the different lands that they in-

water-tight of certain plants and handsomely ornamented. But these vessels, called *coritas*, were so much larger than those commonly used in Pimeria, that they held more than a bushel of corn, and were shoved over the water like little boats. Thus these *coritas* were evidently the large shallow baskets, like circular platters or trays, so well known throughout the southwest. See also Garcés beyond, p. 282, where he is taken across a river and his effects are carried over in *coritas*.

I find a much earlier and different use of the word *corita* in Doc. para Hist. Mex., 4th ser., i, p. 327, where J. M. Mange wrote of Mar. 12, 1701: "Dimos á mano con *coritas* ó gicaras [for *jicaras*] agua á las mulas de carga que ya peridian de sed," *i. e.*, gave the pack-mules, which were perishing of thirst, water by hand by means of *coritas*, here used in a sense which the synonym *gicaras* shows. These vessels were probably small jugs of basketware, made water-tight with gum or pitch, and with them water was dipped up or ladled out of a scanty source. The word *jicara* is not very common, but has become very well known in its diminutive form as the designation of the Indians called Jicarilla Apaches, often pronounced "Hickory" Apaches, who are now on their reservation in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado.

[29] The Canal, as Garcés calls it, with a capital and without qualifying term, is the Canal de Santa Barbara, or Santa Barbara channel, between the coast of California and the collection of islands in the offing. Font's map of 1776, for example, letters Canal de Sa. Barbara below Punta de la Concepcion, with one large island lettered I. de Sa. Cruz, and four smaller ones unnamed. In modern nomenclature the five largest islands of the group are Santa Cruz, Santa Rosa, Santa Catalina, San Nicolas, and San Clemente; besides which are several smaller ones, including that called Santa Barbara, 60 miles S. W. of Los Angeles. All are collectively known as the Santa Barbara

habit they take different names, as are Cajuala Se-

islands; they are eight in number without counting Begg's rock as a ninth. The history of the channel and its islands goes back to 1542, in the fall of which year Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo sailed northward along the coast, and named many places, but not the channel itself. He died on this navigation Jan. 3, 1543, at a place he called La Posesion, on present San Miguel island, the northwest one of the group, lat. 34°. His names need not detain us, as they never acquired vogue and had mostly been forgotten or were ignored when the expedition of Sebastian Vizcaino came along in 1603. He was in San Diego de la Alcalá bay in November, so naming it for the saint whose day is Nov. 14. Before the end of the month he named San Pedro bay for St. Peter, bishop of Alexandria, whose day is Nov. 26, and also the islands still known as Santa Catalina and San Clemente. Next was named the *Canal de Santa Barbara*, which saintess' day is Dec. 4, and also the Isla de Santa Barbara and Isla de San Nicolas, both of which names persist. The four islands of the more northern group appear on Vizcaino's map by other names than they now bear. Passing and naming Punta de la Concepcion, now Point Conception, the voyage was continued past Rio de Carmelo, so called from Carmelite friars who accompanied it, round Punta de los Pinos, still known as Point Pinos, and on Dec. 16 into the Bay of Monterey, so named for the ninth viceroy of Mexico, Gaspar de Zúñiga y Acebedo, Conde de Monterey. Even this glance shows how much of the present nomenclature of the California coast is derived from Vizcaino of 1603, how little from Cabrillo of 1542. But we have still to account for Santa Barbara mission and the saint herself. A project for occupying the channel was formed by Neve in June, 1779, and some new regulations for California took effect in 1781, providing for the founding of a new presidio and mission of Santa Barbara, with two others on the channel to be called San Buenaventura and La Purisima Concepcion.

vinta, Cajuala Chemebet, or Chemeguagua.[21] They conducted themselves with me most beautifully; by

---

San Buenaventura was soon established, Mar. 31, 1782, but Santa Barbara not till Dec. 4, 1786, and Purisima not till Dec. 8, 1787. Dec. 4 is the day of Santa Barbara Virgen y Mártir, as already said, and on that day of 1786 the ceremonies were begun which founded the mission in the course of the month. She is a legendary character, never satisfactorily identified, and some very wild stories attach to her name. She is the patroness of Spanish artillerists and sailors in the Spanish navy, and her name is the synonym of a powder-magazine. The present town of Santa Barbara is the capital of Santa Barbara co., Cal.

[21] Cajuala Sevinta, Cajuala Chemebet, etc. As Garcés states, these were evidently names applied to various small Shoshonean tribes. The Sevinta or "Cajuala Sevinta" were apparently the Shivwits, who occupied the plateau of the same name, bounded by the Grand Wash cliffs, in extreme northwestern Arizona, although they extended into the surrounding region. Some of the Shivwits were seen as far south as Peach spring in 1871. They were a division of the Paiute, and are not popularly distinguished from the rest of that Shoshonean tribe. Beadle called them "*Les-Biches;*" Cortes corrupted Garcés' form of the name into *Chemegue-sabinta;* Orozco y Berra, *Chemegue sebita* and *Chemegue sevicta.* Other forms: Seviches, Sheav-wits, Sher-wits. Major J. W. Powell, 1873-74, was the first to call attention to the tribe under its proper name, and probably the first white man to see them after Garcés' time. They then numbered 182.

I do not know the signification of "Cahuala" in connection with the tribal names. There is a Shoshonean tribe known as *Kawwyo,* formerly in Cabezon, San Jacinto, and Coahuila valleys, E., S. W., and S. E. of San Bernardino, Cal., and thence extending in straggling bands to the river Colorado. In 1873 they numbered 1,937 in 13 rancherias. They were later placed on the Mission reservation, where they are still officially reno means were they thievish or troublesome, but rather quite considerate. They all carried a crook[33] besides their weapons.

Feb. 27. I observed the position of Santo Angel, and found it in 34° 31′. Thereafter I went six leagues northwest and northeast, though for the most part northeast. I halted where there was grass, but no water.

Feb. 28. I went seven leagues northnortheast and

---

garded as "Coahuilas." Other forms: Caguilla, Caqulla, Cahnillo, Cahual-chitz, Cah-wée-os, Cah-willa, Carvilla, Cavio, Cawéo, Cohuilla, Cowela, Cowilla, Kahweaks, Kah-we-as, Kahweyahs, Kavayos, Koahualla.

José Cortes (in Whipple's Report, p. 125-126) has: "Northward of the river Colorado live other bands, which may be considered as one numerous nation; they are the Chemequecaprala, Cehmeque-sabinta, Chemequaba, Chemeque, and Payuches [Paiute]; all speaking the same language, with the exception of the last." All of these, except the "Payuches," would seem to be divisions of the Chemehuevi, and probably the Shivwits or "Sabinta" were an offshoot of the same. Both the Shivwits and Chemehuevi are now regarded as Paiute divisions—this is based on linguistic classification by Powell. Cortes' "Caprala" seems to be the same as Garcés' "Cajuala." I can identify them with no other than the Kauvuya or "Coahuila," who, as previously mentioned, extended to the Rio Colorado. On a *Yuma* map of the river in Whipple, iii, pt. 3, p. 16, the "Ca-hual-chitz" are located above Bill Williams' fork (Hah-weal-ha-mook) and the Mohaves.—F. W. H.

[33] *Alcayata*, hook, crook. He means the hooked stick which these and many other Indians habitually carried for the pur-

arrived at the Jamajab[33] nation, having passed over

---

pose of pulling rats, gophers, and other small game out of their holes. This instrument was about the size of an ordinary walking-stick.

[33] The *Jamajab* = Mohave were the most populous tribe of the Yuman family, and formerly the most warlike. In historic times they occupied the valley of the Rio Colorado, but mainly the eastern bank, between the Needles and the entrance to Black cañon, especially the vicinity of Camp Mohave. Their name is derived from *hámok*, "three"; *habi hemi*, "big rock or mountain," and points to one of their oldest habitats around the Needles on the E. side of the Colorado. They numbered 1371 in 1890, on the Colorado River, Mohave, and Yuma reservations. Other forms: Amacava, Amaguagua, Amahuayas, Amajabas, Amajavas, Amochâve, Amojaves, Amoxawi, Amuchabas, Hamockhaves, Hamoekhâve, Hamokiavi, Hamukahava, Jamajas, Jamalas, Machavès, Macjave, Mahaos, Majabos, Majave, Mohahve, Mohave (1841: present form), Mohavi, Mohawa, Mohawe, Mohaoes, Mojaris, Mojaur, Mojave, Molxaves, Moyave, Soyopa, Tamajabs (misprint; after Garcés' Jamajabs), Tamasabes, Wah-muk-a-hah'-ve, Yamágas, Yamajab.—F. W. H.

It is probable that the Mojaves have been known to the whites, or known of, since 1540, when Alarcon went up the Colorado by boat, mostly cordelled by Indians, for 15 days. How far he went is uncertain; but it took only 2½ days to descend with the current. Again he started, Sept. 14, 1540, in three boats loaded with provisions and merchandise, and went, it is said, 85 leagues, or some 225 miles. Probably he saw all the tribes on the river excepting the Havasupais; I am inclined to allow him up to the Needles, and thus to the Mojaves. In 1604-05, Juan de Oñate may have come into some relation, direct or indirect, with the Mojaves. After that we only hear vaguely of them till these full accounts by Garcés of 1776. But even these seem to have made little impression; and how little a sierra[24] that runs to the northwest and ends on the Rio Colorado. Having continued further, the ran-

---

was really known of them till into the '50's, when Whipple, Sitgreaves, E. F. Beale, and especially Ives told us so much, may be judged from the following extract from Bartlett's Narr., 1854, ii, p. 178:

"At Fort Yuma [in June, 1852] we heard of a tribe called the *Mohavi*, who occupy the country watered by a river of the same name, which empties into the Colorado about 150 miles above the fort. They are said to be a fine athletic people, exceedingly warlike, and superior to the other tribes on the river." Needless to add, the Mojaves never lived on the Mojave river, which does not flow into the Colorado.

[24] This sierra is of course the Mojave range, which separates the Chemehuevi valley from that of the Mojaves. Garcés has no name for it here; but on his return down the Arizona side of the river, he names it Sierra de San Ildefonso, Aug. 1; see the date, p. 419. From the N. W. this range comes S. E. to the Colorado, and continues on the other side of the river, which thus cuts through it to the extent of the Mojave cañon. This runs N. and S. between lats. 34° 30′ and 34° 45′; whence it appears that Garcés' observation of 34° 31′ on the 27th is too low. Some of the elevations of the range immediately upon the river, where the cañon is most boxed, take the forms of spires; these are called the Needles, having been known as such since the time of Ives, 1857-58, on whose map they are delineated and so lettered. His report also gives figures 15 and 16 of the outlet and inlet of Mojave cañon, together with a panoramic view (No. 2, opp. p. 64) of the whole Mojave valley up to Pyramid cañon. The railroad now crosses the river near the Needles, and Needles is the name of the last station on the California side. In Garcés' time, as in Ives' and ours, the villages or rancherias

cherias of the Jamajab I saw were on the opposite bank of the river; these I called (Rancherias) de la Pasion, without crossing to the other side. Here came soon all the Jamajabs, because the captain who was accompanying me hastened on to inform them of my arrival. Those who came to see me that day remained to sleep in this place, so that I could speak to them to my satisfaction on all subjects. To all that I set forth to them they replied that it was good; and added that license was given me to remain here to baptize them, because they knew that thus would result all sorts of good things. I can say with entire truth that these Indians have great advantages over the Yumas and the rest of the nations of the Rio Colorado; they are less molestful, and none are

---

of the Mojaves extended along the river all through the valley, to the next (Pyramid) cañon, above the site of the military camp or Fort Mojave, now an Indian school reservation with the name Mojave City on some maps. This is a little N. of 35°, about 14 miles N. of Needles station, and twice as far above the Needles themselves. Whipple's crossing of Feb. 27, 1854, was in close vicinity of the present railroad station; Beale's crossing of 1857 was a little above Fort Mojave, at or very near present Hardyville, or Hardy. I was three times at Fort Mojave in 1865, and post surgeon there in March, 1881; in the former year, when I navigated the Colorado from Mojave to Yuma and back, the master of the sternwheeler Cocopa, Captain Robinson, was the same who had piloted the Explorer on Ives' expedition.

thieves; they seem valiant, and nowhere have I been better served. I showed them the picture of the Virgin; it pleased them much, but they did not like to look at that of the lost soul. As I am the first Español[38] who has been in their land they celebrated it beyond bounds (*sobre manera*) by their great desire to become acquainted with them (Españoles); and considering them to be very valiant, they manifested extraordinary joy at being now friends of a people so valorous.

Feb. 29. I tarried here, because there came successively many persons, and among them three captains, of whom one said that he was the head chief (*el principal*) of the nation, against whose will was naught determined; that he had come in order that I should tell him that which there was for him to do; that I should know him for what he was when I should see him do out of the goodness of his heart all that which I might propose; and finally he said that he would be baptized and married to a woman, adding other good things of like tenor. This is the captain general of them all (*que ay*), and he lives in the center of this nation. The female sex (*el mugerio*) is the most comely on the river; the male (*la gente*) very healthy and robust.[36] The women wear petticoats of the style and cut that the Yumas (wear). The men go entirely naked, and in a country so cold this is well worthy of compassion. These say that they are very strong; and so I found them to be, especially in enduring hunger and thirst. It is evident that this nation goes on increasing, for I saw many lusty young fellows (*gandúles*), and many more boys; the contrary is experienced in the other nations of the river. There came together to visit me about 20 hundred souls. Abound here certain blankets that they possess and weave of furs of rabbits and otters[37] brought from the west and northwest, with the people of which parts they keep firm friendship. They have been also intimate friends of the Yumas. Their language is different; but through constant communication they understand well enough the Yuma. They talk rapidly and with great haughtiness (*arrogancia*). I have not heard any Indian who talked more, or with less embarrassment, than their captain general. The enemies that they have are, on the northeast the Yabipais Cuercomaches;[38] on the east the Jaguallapais;[39]

---

[38] I see no reason to doubt Garcés' claim that he was the first Spaniard who was ever among the Mojaves—actually "in their land" and on terms with them. At the same time we must not forget the original ascent of the river by Alarcon in 1540. The point he reached will ever remain uncertain, but he may easily have come to the Needles, and thus to the verge of the Mojave country. Also, there is the question of Oñate of 1604-05; for he may then have had some communication with these Indians, direct or indirect, though he was never actually among them.

---

[36] Perhaps there could be no more striking instance of the absurdity of grammatical gender than is shown in this sentence, where women collectively are *el mugerio*, masculine, and men collectively are *la gente*, feminine!

[37] *Nutrias* is the word used, properly meaning otters, but Garcés may have meant beavers. In proof of this use of *nutrias* for beavers I can cite a passage in Escalante's Diario, Doc. para Hist. Mex., 2d ser., i, 1854, p. 426: "Aquí tienen las *nutrias* hechos con palizades tales tanques, que representan á primera vista un rio mas que mediano—here have the beavers made with sticks such ponds that they look at first sight like a river larger than usual"; the reference being of course to the

---

damming of the stream by these animals. Mr. Hodge observes that the above-mentioned rabbit-skin robes are those so well known to be manufactured principally by the Paiutes, who are the people referred to by Garcés as living on the west and northwest.

[38] A division or mere rancheria of Yavapais, on one of the heads of Diamond creek near the Grand cañon, unknown by name save for mention by Garcés. Compare date of July 17, beyond.

[39] The *Jaguallapais* of Garcés are the Walapai or Hualapai, a Yuman tribe whose habitat in early historic times was the middle Rio Colorado, above the Mohave tribe, from the great bend eastward. They extended from the southern bank of the river well into the interior, occupying Hualapai, Yavapai, and Sacramento valleys, and the territory of the Cerbat, Hualapai, and Aquarius mts. Present Bill Williams' fork and its branch, Rio Santa Maria, formed their southern extremity. Their name is derived from *huála*, "pine tree," "pinery," "pine forest," and *pai*, "all men," "people" —*i. e.*, "pinery Indians." The Cohonino or Havasupai are an offshoot from the Walapai, and still speak a dialect more nearly like the Walapai than any other of

and on the south the Jalchedunes. During the harangues that they make they give smart slaps with the palms on the thighs.[40] Manifesting to these people the desires that I had to go to see the padres that were living near the sea,[41] they agreed and offered

---

the Yuman languages. They are now confined to a reservation bordering the great bend of the Colorado in N. W. Arizona, where they number 631. They seem to be gradually diminishing in numbers. Other forms of the name are: Hah-wál-coes, Haulapais, Ha-wol-la Pai, Ho-allo-pi, Huaepais, Hualapais, Hualipais, Hualopais, Hualpáich, Hualpais, Hualpas, Hualpias, Huallapais, Hulapais, Hwalapai, Jagullapai (after Garcés), Jaguyapay, Jaqualapai, Jaquallapai, Tiqui-llapai, Wallapais, Wil-ha-py-ah.—F. W. H.

[40] José Cortes (in Whipple's Report) must have had access to Garcés, for his statement of the language and gesticulation of the Mojave, whom he miscalls "Tamajabs," is almost a literal translation of the above: "The language is very strange; it is spoken with violent utterance and a lofty arrogance of manner; and in making speeches, the thighs are violently struck with the palms of the hands"!

[41] That is to say, at the mission of San Gabriel, in the vicinity of Los Angeles, Cal., whither we will now follow the good missionary. We shall be able to trace his very steps on this journey, as I once followed his route very closely, and have my own itinerary before me, Oct. 30-Nov. 14, 1865, from Mojave to San Gabriel. Besides myself the party consisted of John N. Goodwin, governor of Arizona; Lieutenant Charles A. Curtis, 5th U. S. Infantry; two servants, one of them my Mexican boy José, whose full name I never knew, and the other Curtis' striker; and two teamsters, one of the 4-mule ambulance in which we rode, the other of the 6-mule wagon for our baggage and rations. The route, in brief, was west to Soda lake, then

soon to accompany me, saying that already they had informations of them and knew the way. But as now I had few provisions, I determined to depart immediately (*quanto ántes*); and told them that on the return we would see them again (*de espacio*). I left here the greater part of my baggage and the interpreter that I had sent with the Indian girls (*Inditas*) that I had rescued; and in company with the Indian Sevastian and the Jamajabs I departed from this place.

up the Mojave river, through the Cajon pass to San Bernardino valley, and thence to San Gabriel mission near Los Angeles. The clearest map of the road that I know of is one on a scale of 16 miles to the inch published by the Wheeler survey of 1875, being a topographical sketch of the route followed by a party under Lieut. Eric Bergland, corps of Engineers, U. S. A. This road does not agree well with the present railroad line, but in those earlier years it was the only road from Mojave westward.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM MOJAVE TO SAN GABRIEL, MAR.-APR. 8, 1776.

Mar. 1. I went three leagues northwest, accompanied by the principal captain of the Jamajabs; and having turned aside from the fields of wheat I arrived at the rancherias where was his house, and which I named (Rancherias) de Santa Isabel.[1]

Mar. 2. I tarried at request of the captain in order to satisfy others who desired to see me. This day visited me another captain with his people, and two Indians of the Chemebet nation.

Mar. 3. I proceeded three leagues on the course northwest with some turns to the westnorthwest.[2] I observed this locality to be in 35° 01′, and I named it San Pedro de los Jamajabs.[3] In this situation and in that below there are good mesas for the foundation of missions, and though they are near the river they are free from inundation.

---

[1] These rancherias were in the vicinity of the present railroad station Needles.

[2] So my copy, oestnoroeste, but there seems to be some doubt of this reading. Bancroft's copy had the impossible "eastnorthwest" (Hist. Cal., i, p. 275); Beaumont MS. has estnorueste, and so has the pub. Doc., p. 276. I am inclined to make it estnordeste, eastnortheast.

[3] If we allow the reading eastnortheast, we can bring Garcés

Mar. 4, on which was made the observation noted on the 3d day. I departed, accompanied by three Jamajab Indians and by Sevastian, on a course southwest, and in two leagues and a half arrived at some wells [which I named Pozos de San Casimiro.[4] There is some grass.

---

around a bend of the river, and take his 35° 01′ at its face value, as a mile above the point where the Nevada boundary line strikes the Colorado at 35°. This sets his San Pedro de los Jamajabs nearly opposite the well-known site of Fort Mojave. This military post was built in 1858 on a bluff on the left bank of the river, lat. about 35° 03′, and some five miles below Hardy. The Mojaves and other Indians were then hostile; but they were defeated in battle by troops under Capt. and Bvt. Major Lewis A. Armistead of the 6th Infantry (who soon afterward joined the C. S. A. and was killed at Gettysburg July 3, 1863), and thereafter gave no trouble. The fort was abandoned May, 1861, but reoccupied the same month of 1863 by two companies of the 4th California volunteers. The military reservation, established by Executive Order of Mar. 30, 1870, was turned over to the Interior Department by President Harrison, Sept. 19, 1890, under A. of C. approved July 31, 1882.

[4] Lacuna here in our copy, by fault of the scribe. I bracket the required matter from the Beaumont MS. and the pub. Doc., both of which name these wells: see also beyond, p. 308. When I ferried across the river from Fort Mojave, Oct. 30, 1865, I went 3 miles to some water called Beaver lake; whence it was 22 miles to Piute springs, the usual first camp out from the fort. The road was fair, though mostly up and down hill, and either

Mar. 5.[5] Departing by the northwest I traveled eight leagues west one quarter westsouthwest, on a road level and grassy, and halted at some wells of excellent but little abundant water. Sebastian said that two mule-trains could drink.]

Mar. 6. I traveled five leagues west and three westsouthwest, through land level and grassy. I arrived at a sierra that has pines, though small ones, and I named it (Sierra) de Santa Coleta.[6] The aguage,

---

sandy or rocky. But it appears that Garcés did not go exactly this way. He started west from the river below Fort Mojave, and took an Indian trail that runs approx. parallel with, but a few miles S. of, the main wagon road I was on, joining the latter further on.

[5] *No entry for Mar. 5* in our copy, by continued scribal omission, which I supply in brackets; for both the Beaumont MS. and the pub. Doc. give an 8-league journey between San Casimiro wells and another day's journey to camp on the 6th. I have no doubt this is correct, as this interpolation adjusts Garcés' camps well with what I know of the route he is on. March 5, therefore, we send Garcés eight leagues west ¼ westsouthwest to some nameless wells. These should be found on Pahute or Piute wash, at a point a few miles S. of the well-known Piute springs of my last note.

[6] When I traveled the main road on Oct. 31, 1865, from Piute springs it was 20 miles to Rock springs, where I found no water and went two miles further to water at what were called Government holes in those days; total, 22 miles. Now Garcés is coming along his trail but little south of my road, and nearly parallel therewith. His eight leagues to-day, nearly west, takes him on to the Sierra de Santa Coleta, in which range he finds

which is somewhat scanty, is in the midst of the sierra, but there is much grass and of good quality. Here I met four Indians that were coming from Santa Clara,[7] after trading in shells (*cuentas*).[8] I was lost in wonder (*quedé admirado*) to see that they brought no provisions whatever on a route where there is naught to eat, nor did they carry bows for hunting. They replied to my amazement, "the Jamajabs endure hunger and thirst for four days," to give me to understand that indeed are they valiant men.

Mar. 7. In the afternoon I passed the sierra through a good gap, and at the outlet (*á la salida*) entered into a cañada that on both sides has hills of sand; I named it Cañada de Santo Tomás,[9] and having traveled four leagues westnorthwest I halted, though better would it have been to follow the

---

a scanty aguage. This watering-place is Cedar springs, in the Providence mountains of modern geography. Observe the name "Cedar" springs, and the statement that the sierra "has pines, though small ones."

[7] The note on Santa Clara will be found on p. 257.

[8] *Cuentas* were certain seashells highly prized by the Indians, and a brisk trade was carried on in them between tribes of the interior and those of the coast where they were found. Much more about *cuentas* beyond.

[9] There are more than one of the name; I presume Garcés named the cañada for St. Thomas Didymus, one of the 12 apostles, not for St. Thomas à Becket, b. London 1118, murdered in Canterbury cathedral Dec. 29, 1170, canonized 1172. Observe the northing to the dry camp.

cañada, since the footing was firm. Here there was grass, but no water.

Mar. 8. I went six leagues westsouthwest, in part through the cañada and in part through the medano. I arrived at some very abundant wells which I named Pozos de San Juan de Dios,[10] and there is sufficient grass. Here begins the Beñemé nation.[11]

Mar. 9. I went 5 leagues [west] ¼ westsouthwest, and arrived at a gap in the sierra that I named (Sierra) Pinta for the veins that run in it of various colors. Here I encountered an arroyo of saltish water that I named (Arroyo) de los Martires.[12] There is good grass.

---

[10] For note on the Pozos de San Juan de Dios see p. 258.

[11] *Beñemé.* These are doubtless the *Panamint* Indians, of Shoshoean stock, after whom the valley and range west of Death valley (their present habitat) were named. Formerly they occupied the region mentioned (in Inyo county, Cal.), and the adjacent desert stretches. As late as 1883 they numbered about 150; ten years later their number did not exceed 50. These Indians live mainly on herbs and roots, and therefore have been popularly known, with other tribes, as "Root Diggers," or "Diggers."—F. W. H.

The above text of Garcés is evidently the basis of Cortes in Whipple's Report, p. 124: "Journeying from the nation of the Tamajabs [*sic*] to the west quarter northwest, at the end of 20 leagues begins the nation of the Benemé."

[12] Mar. 9 is the memorable day on which Garcés discovers Mojave river, never before seen by a white man. He has reached the sink of the river, modern Soda lake, and names it

Mar. 10. I went 6 leagues up the arroyo on a course westsouthwest, and with various windings I halted in the same arroyo, at a place where it has cottonwoods, much grass, and lagunas.[18]

Mar. 11. Having gone one league eastsoutheast I arrived at some rancherias so poor that they had to eat no other thing than the roots of rushes (*rayses de*

Arroyo de los Martires—a term appearing as "R. de los Martires" on Font's map of 1777, but "R. de los Martinez" by misprint on the reduced copy in Bancroft, and Rio de los Martires having originally been Kino's name of the Colorado in 1699. Hence arose some confusion; but there is not the slightest doubt of Garcés' discovery and present position. Mojave river has no outlet, but sinks in the sand at Soda lake or marsh, a place which varies much in appearance at different seasons or conditions of water supply. The sink has an extent of about 20 miles from N. to S., but is narrow in the opposite direction, and the main road takes directly across the middle of it from E. to W. when the water is low. When I crossed it was nearly dry except in some reedy patches, and most of the surface was whitened with alkaline efflorescence; the water was bad, as Garcés says; the grass was poor, there was no wood, and myriads of mosquitos tormented us, though water had frozen half an inch thick on our buckets on the night of Oct. 31. On the W. side of the sink a road goes northward; the road to follow is the left-hand one, which runs about W. S. W. and strikes the river a few miles higher up, as the river comes into the extreme S. end of the sink. This is Garcés' course for to-morrow, "arroyo arriba con rumbo al Oestsudoeste."

[18] The distance given should set Garcés in the vicinity of a place on the river called the Caves—a usual first stopping place in going up the Mojave from Soda lake.

tule); they are of the Beñemé nation and there were about 25 souls. I gave them of my little store (*los regalé con mi pobreza*), and they did the same with their tule-roots, which my companions the Jamajabs ate with repugnance. The poor people manifested much concern at their inability to go hunting in order to supply me, inasmuch as it was raining and very cold, and they were entirely naked. Here grows the wild grape; there is much grass; also mezquites and trees that grow the screw.[14] This nation is the same as that of San Gabriel, Santa Clara, and San Joseph.[15] They have some baskets (*coritas*) like those of the Canal (de Santa Barbara). They have coats of otter, and of rabbits, and some very curious snares that they make of wild hemp, of which there is much in these lands. As a rule are they very effeminate, and the women uncleanly, like those of the sierras; but all are very quiet and inoffensive, and they hear with attention that which is told them of God.

---

[14] *Arboles que crian el tornillo*, literally as above rendered. This is the screw-mezquite, *Prosopis pubescens*.

[15] Of San Gabriel more anon, when we come to it. For Santa Clara see note [7], p. 257. San Joseph is frequently written instead of the Spanish form, San José, in annals of this period; the mission of this name was not founded till June 11, 1797, and the first pueblo in Upper California was not established till Nov. 29, 1777. This was named San José, more fully San José de Guadalupe from the river on which it was situated, sometimes called San José de Alvaredo for the governor, sometimes San José de Galvez for the visitador general of that name, who in a pronunciamiento of Nov. 21, 1768, appointed St. Joseph patron or overseer at large of the operations about to be undertaken for the new conversions of California, because his image had driven away locusts from San José del Cabo in 1767. But this Pueblo de San José is not the place meant by Garcés; he means the Valle de San Joseph which he names beyond, Mar. 22, and

Mar. 12. I traveled two leagues westsouthwest, and halted in the same arroyo [*i. e.*, on the Mojave river], at an uninhabited rancheria; the rain, the cold, and hunger continued, for there were no roots of tule, and the remaining inhabited rancherias were afar (*largo trecho*). In which emergency I determined that my companions should kill a horse to relieve the necessity; not even was the blood thereof wasted, for indeed there was need to go on short rations (*poner cóto en las raciones*) in order to survive the days that we required to reach the next rancherias. On account of the severe cold turned back from here one Jamajab Indian of those who were accompanying me; of the other two Indians of his nation I covered the one with a blanket, and the other with a shirt (*tunica*). As there was much to eat of the dead horse, they would not depart hence until the 15th day.

Mar. 15. I went two leagues westnorthwest [and

---

which is the modern San Bernardino. See note [34], p. 247, at date of Mar. 23.

a league and a half northwest. I halted in the same arroyo. There is much grass.

Mar. 16.[18] I traveled two leagues westnorthwest]; then quitting the arroyo I traveled southwest until I fell into it again, and continued therein with some inclination to the south. Having gone four leagues (I came to where) there were good grass, large cottonwoods, cranes, and crows of the kind that there is at San Gabriel.

Mar. 17. At the passage of the river the mule mired down, and wetted was all that he was carrying, and for this did I tarry here. This day I dispatched one Jamajab and Sevastian, that they should seek the inhabited rancherias. I observed, and found this position in 34° 37′.[17] This day there came five Jamajab Indians who were returning from San Gabriel from their commerce, and very content to have seen the padres, who had given them corn; they imitated the bleating of calves.

---

[18] *No entry for the 16th*, and that for the 15th defective, owing to hiatus in our copy, which I fill up in brackets from the Beaumont MS. and the pub. Doc. Hence it appears that about this time Garcés passes what was once a notable point on the Mojave river—the site of Camp Cady. This military post was occupied when I came by, Nov. 4, 1865, 16 miles from my camp at the Caves already mentioned. I find the following in my journal of that day: "Half a day's pull through heavy sandy and gravelly washes brought us to this Godforsaken Botany Bay of a place, the meanest I ever saw yet for a military station, where four officers and a handful of men manage to exist in some unexplained way in mud and brush hovels. The officers were Capt. West, Lieut. Forster, Lieut. Davidson, and Dr. Lauber—glad enough to see us—or anybody else."

Mar. 18. Sevastian returned without mishap, praising the kind reception that had been given them [himself and his companion] by the Indians whom they had seen; and thereupon I went five leagues southwest up river,[18] and arrived at a rancheria of some 40 souls of the same Beñemé nation. Inasmuch as I observed that I was going below (*bajaba*) the 35th degree, I entreated the Indians that they should take me toward the west; but with all the insistency that I urged I could not succeed, and they simply responded that they knew no other road. In this rancheria they regaled me with hares, rabbits, and great abundance of acorn porridge, wherewith we relieved the great neediness that we had.

---

[17] Regarding the observation of 34° 37′ see beyond, p. 306, at date of May 19, when Garcés returns to the river.

[18] We have recovered Garcés' mileage, and we have him safe enough on the river. From what he says of his southwest course, and his anxiety at finding himself going so far below lat. 35°, I should suppose him to be somewhere between Grapevine and Cottonwood. From Camp Cady to Grapevine (Jacobi's) is about 25 miles; at 11 miles of this distance is a point called Forks of the Road, where a road to Salt Lake City branches. Most of the way is along the left bank, north side of the river; then comes a stretch off the river, which is regained at a place called Fish Pond; whence it is four miles further to Grapevine. The railroad now crosses the river in this vicinity, between stations Fish Pond and Waterman. I was last there in Dec., 1891.

Mar. 19. I went one league southsoutheast (*sic*) and arrived at the house of the captain of these rancherias. He presented me with a string of about two varas of white sea-shells; and his wife sprinkled me with acorns and tossed the basket, which is a sign among these people of great obeisance. In a little while after that she brought sea-shells in a small gourd, and sprinkled me with them in the way which is done when flowers are thrown. Likewise when the second woman came she expressed her affection by the same ceremonies. I reciprocated these attentions as well as I could (*del modo que pude*), and marveled to see that among these people so rustic are found demonstrations proper to the most cultivated, and a particular prodigality (*magnificencia*) in scattering their greatest treasures, which are the shells.

Mar. 20. I went two leagues and a half east and southsoutheast (*sic*), following up the river. I took an observation near the gap between two small cerros through which the river passes, and found it in 34° 18'. In the afternoon I went five leagues south and southeast (*sic*)[19] and arrived at a rancheria of about

---

[19] Garcés continues up river, as he says he does; the words

70 souls, where I was received with great joy. On my arrival (*quando iba llegando*) some howled like wolves, and others made long harangues in a very high key (*en voz muy alta*). Here there were two captains who with all the other men presented me with white sea-shells, and the women made the demonstration of sprinkling me with acorns; some extended this favor to my mules.

Mar. 21. Leaving the river I set forth southwestward, and having gone two leagues through a cañada and some hills, I arrived at a rancheria of five huts (*xacales*) on the bank of the river. I continued on a

---

"est" "sursueste" and "sueste" are unmistakable in the handwriting before me. The road which I followed in 1865 crosses from left to right bank of the river a few miles above the Grapevine place said, continues past Cottonwood to Point of Rocks, 22 miles from Grapevine, on a southwest course; at Point of Rocks it turns due south to what was called Lane's, or the Upper crossing, and there leaves the river entirely to strike straight south by west for Cajon pass in the mountains, reached in 19 miles from Lane's. This is the way I went, as my itinerary shows: "Nov. 9. To Martin's ranch, 29 miles S. from Lane's crossing; more than half the distance in open country, and then we entered the Cajon pass in the mountains, where there is a tollgate. The pass is a narrow, deep, and tortuous cañon, the roughest I have ever traversed on wheels; there was 10 miles of this from the tollgate to Martin's ranch." Now Garcés has been sent through Cajon pass, with a query, as by Bancroft, Hist. Cala., i, p. 275; but I do not think he went that way. Taking his courses on their face, he continued up the Mojave course to the south and entered into a cañada[20] of much wood, grass, and water; I saw many cottonwoods, alders, oaks, very tall firs, and beautiful junipers (*sabinos*); and having gone one league I arrived at a rancheria of about 80 souls, which I named (Rancheria) de San Benito. I was received with great joy, and they made me the same obeisance.

Mar. 22. I went three leagues and passed over the sierra by the southsouthwest.[21] The woods that I said yesterday reach to the summit of this sierra, whence I saw clearly the sea, the Rio de Santa Anna,

---

river, with considerable easting as said, passed Huntington's on the river, and then through Bear or Holcomb valley rounded up to the mountains directly north of the San Bernardino valley, and crossed them by the well-known trail into this valley. See notes following.

[20] This cañada is the pass through which Garcés crossed the mountains, between the San Gabriel and the San Bernardino ranges, from Holcomb's valley into the beautiful one which became the site of the present city of San Bernardino. He is tracing the Mojave river up to its very source, near which is the rancheria he calls San Benito. See last and next notes.

[21] Into the San Bernardino valley, which is Garcés' Valle de San Joseph, on the upper reaches of his Rio de Santa Anna, which is the present name of this river, commonly in the form Santa Ana. This rises in the San Bernardino mts., runs through the valley just said, and takes a mean S. W. course to the sea at Newport, under Point Lasuen. Garcés is about to fall upon the trail of the main expedition, and the names he uses for the river and valley are easily identified by this: see note for Mar. 23.

and the Valle de San Joseph. Its descent is little wooded. At a little distance from its foot I found another rancheria where the Indians received me very joyfully. I continued westsouthwest,[22] and having traveled three leagues along the skirt of the sierra, I halted in the Arroyo de los Alisos.[23]

Mar. 23. I traveled half a league westsouthwest, and one south, at the instance of some Indians who met me and made me go to eat at their rancheria. Thereafter having gone another league westsouthwest I came upon the road of the expedition,[24] which

---

[22] Bancroft, *l. c.*, misprints this course "E. S. E.," no doubt by error of his copy; it is very plainly "Oestsudoeste" in my copy. The Beaumont MS. has "Oestsudueste, y al Oeste"; the pub. Doc., p. 281, has "estsudueste y al oest."

[23] Arroyo de los Alisos, which would be Alder (or Sycamore) gulch in English, is a tributary of Santa Ana river, and on it is Cocomungo or Cucamonga, which was merely a ranch when I passed it in 1865, between San Bernardino and the modern Pomona, on the main road to San Gabriel and Los Angeles. It was called Arroyo de Osos or Bear gulch on Anza's expedition of 1774, which Garcés accompanied. His halt to-night is at or near the site of this ranch.

[24] Route of the main party under Anza, easily picked up from Font's Diary, which enables us to identify the names used by Garcés along here. Refer to note [7] p. 204, after date of Jan 3, where Puerto de San Carlos is identified with modern San Gorgonio pass; and see Font's map, camp-mark "55," on this spot. Thence on Dec. 27 the expedition went some 6 leagues N. W. and W. N. W. to the beginning of the Cañada de San Patricio; mark "56." Dec. 28, remained; observed lat. 33° 37′. Dec. 29,

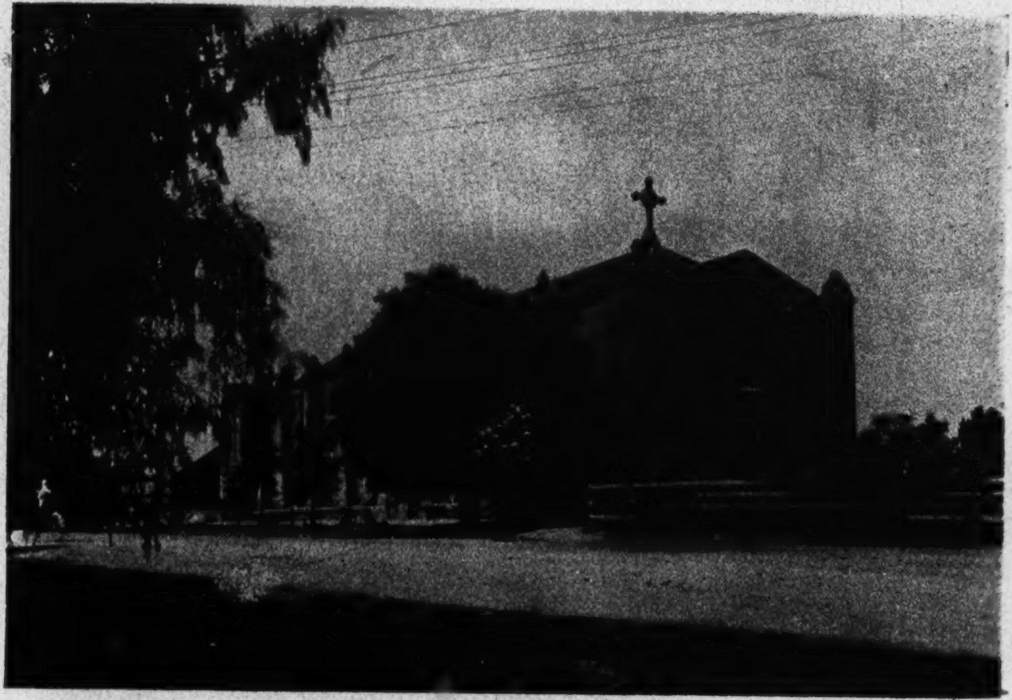
I followed at a good gait (*á paso largo*) till nightfall; and having gone eight leagues in this direction and to the northwest, I halted [on Rio de San Gabriel, at or near a place now called El Monte].

Mar. 24. At two leagues westnorthwest I arrived at the mission of San Gabriel,[30] where I was received by the padres with great kindness, and had the special pleasure to have arrived on the day on which my seraphic religion celebrates the Santo Principe; to

---

7 full leagues N. W. ¼ W., with some turns N., to the Arroyo de San Joseph, where ended the cañada which had been followed; mark "57." Dec. 29, the crystalline water of the Arroyo de San Joseph, from the Sierra Nevada, was so beautiful that they called the gorge down which it ran the Cañada del Paraiso (Paradise), and thence it flowed through the Valle de San Joseph; route 5 leagues W. N. W. from Arroyo de San Joseph into *Valle de San Joseph* at foot of a hill; mark "58." Dec. 31, 8 leagues W. N. W. in the valley to *Rio de Santa Ana;* mark "59." Here the expedition is at or near modern San Bernardino. (Observe that Font's other map, of 1777, connects Rio de Santa Ana with R. de los Martires or Mojave river, making the latter run to the Pacific—at least, such is the connection on the copy of the map in my hands; but there is no such blunder on the original Font map of 1776.) Jan. 1, 1776, remained. Jan. 2, 6 leagues W. N. W. to *Arroyó de los Alisos;* mark "60." Jan. 3, some 6 leagues W. N. W. to an arroyo which joins another to form the *Rio de San Gabriel;* mark "61." This seems to have been at the place now known as El Monte; wherever it was, Garcés camps there this night of Mar. 23, for he gets into the mission to-morrow at a couple of leagues, just as Font does Jan. 4; camp mark "62," and big letter "B" of his maps.

[30] This long note on San Gabriel begins on p. 258.



MISSION OF SAN GABRIEL FROM THE SOUTHEAST

Photograph by A. C. Vroman

which was added that of seeing this mission so advanced, both in the spiritualities and the temporalities, since the former occasion when I was here.[26] My principal intention since I departed from the Jamajabs was to see if I could go directly to the mission of San Luis,[27] or further upward, in order that thus might be facilitated (*quedase facil*) the communication, as the most excellent señor viceroy desires, of the provinces of Sonora and Moqui with Monte-Rey.[38]

---

[26] In March, 1774: see *antea*, Garcés' Fourth Entrada, p. 43.

[27] San Luis Obispo de Tolosa, the fifth in order of time of the Californian conversions, founded Sept. 1, 1772; named for St. Louis, bishop of Toulouse, son of Charles of Anjou (King of Naples), and nephew of San Luis Rey de Francia (Louis IX., King of France, 1226-70); b. 1275, became Franciscan 1294, d. 1298, canonized 1317; his day, Aug. 19. The mission was sometimes called San Luis de los Tichos, an Indian tribe, and must not be confounded with the other of similar name, San Luis Rey, so called from the King of France just said, founded June 13, 1798. San Luis Obispo was started by Governor Fages and Padre Serra on a spot called by the natives Tixlini, a mile or more from the Cañada de los Osos or Bear gulch. The present San Luis Obispo county of California, its present county seat, and also San Luis bay and Point San Luis on the coast, all take name from this original establishment. The first minister was Padre José Cavaller. Missionaries there about 1773, besides Cavaller, were Padres Domingo Juncosa, José Antonio Murguía, Juan Prestamero, and Tomás de la Peña. In 1774 a church of some size lacked only the roof. On the present expedition of 1776, Mar. 2, Anza brought a number of immigrants to San Luis Obispo, and stood godfather to some children Font baptized. Most of the buildings were destroyed by native incendiary fires on Nov. 29 of this year, while Cavaller and Figuer were in charge, assisted by Murguía and Mugár-

---

tegui; and there were two other extensive fires within a few years.

[38] Otherwise the Bay of Monterey, where the mission of San Carlos Borromeo de Monterey was founded June 3, 1770, making the second one in California Alta (San Diego, 1769). The name is that of Count Carlo Borromeo, son of the Count of Arona, nephew of Pope Pius IV., an Italian nobleman, archbishop of Milan, cardinal, etc., b. at Arona near Lake Maggiore in Italy Oct. 2, 1538, d. at Milan Nov. 3, 1584, canonized in 1610; his day is Nov. 4; he is commonly called St. Charles Borromeo in English, and his colossal statue, 70 feet high, finished 1697, stands on a hill near his birthplace. The San Carlos was also one of the ships which composed the extensive expeditions by sea and land for the occupation of the Bay of Monterey and the founding there of new conversions; and Carlos III. was then King of Spain. The expeditions came together about the last of May or first of June, and on the 3d of the latter month, when the people assembled in an enramada, a shelter made of boughs, Captain Gaspar de Portolá took formal possession in the name of his sovereign, while Padre Junípero Serra planted the cross and sprinkled holy water to rout the devil and all his imps. Thus were started both the mission and presidio of Monterey. On May 21, 1771, there came on the ship San Antonio ten padres for service in five other missions it was proposed to establish soon. But the original site of San Carlos did not suit Padre Serra, who wished to transfer the mission about one league to Rio Carmelo, so named from the Carmelite friars. Permission to this effect seems to have been given by the Viceroy Croix Nov. 12, 1770, and the transfer was soon effected. The exact date is in question; some say Dec., 1770; some, late in 1771; others, 1772. Be this as it may, the new mission of San Carlos Borromeo del

Not having been able to effect this purpose (*lograr*), because the Jamajab Indians who were accompanying me refused, I determined to ascend to San Luis by the royal road (*camino real*—regular highway), in order to depart thence to the east, and explore the Tuláres[29] that I was already informed there were in

---

Carmelo de Monterey was firmly established on its permanent site, where it continued to flourish till the secularization of missions by order of Aug. 9, 1834.

[29] "It is recorded that some time during 1773 Comandante Fages, while out in search of deserters, crossed the Sierra eastward and saw an immense plain covered with *tulares* and a great lake, . . . This may be regarded as the discovery of the Tulare Valley," Bancroft, Hist. Cala., i, p. 197. A tular was any marshy place in which grew tule, the common bulrush of California, either *Scirpus californicus* or *S. tatora;* and Tulares became the name of the whole basin of which Tulare lake is the sink: see "Tulares" lettered on Font's map of 1777, where the whole valley is delineated, probably for the first time. But if Fages first saw the Tulares in 1773, our indefatigable Garcés in 1776 is the original explorer of that region, thus adding fresh laurels to those won by the first white man who ever went from Yuma to Mojave by land, and thence to San Gabriel, discovering and traversing the whole of the Mojave river. In 1806 Arrillaga desired this whole interior region—a great refuge for deserters from the army and apostates from the missions—to be explored, and by order of July 10 an expedition started from Santa Barbara July 19. The record of this entrada, made by Padre Zalvidea, is extant, and is extracted in brief by Bancroft, Hist. Cal., ii, pp. 48-50, with map, p. 49, tracing the route. On this is lettered Laguna Grande de los Tulares; and Garcés' own route of 1776 is also dotted. This will be found more helpful

that direction, and to return by the same to the Jamajabs. To this end I asked the corporal (*cabo*) who was on duty at San Gabriel for an escort and some rations, which he refused me. I then had recourse to Señor Comandante Rivera,[20] who at the

---

than the very poor indication of Garcés' route on Font's map; the latter is practically useless. There was another exploration of Tulare valley in 1806 under Ensign Moraga, whose route is also dotted on the same map; and Padre Pedro Muñoz' diary of this tour is fully abstracted by Bancroft, *l. c.*, pp. 52, 53, under the title: Diario de la Expedicion hecha por Don Gabriel Moraga, Alférez de la Compañia de San Francisco, á los Nuevos Descubrimientos del Tular, 1806. Garcés' route we are about to follow is also digested by Bancroft, Cal., i, pp. 275-77, with which the following account may be compared. The Tulare region he explored lies in present Kern and Tulare counties.

[20] Don Fernando Xavier Rivera y Moncada, then commanding in California Alta. We have already noted in Font's Journal his arrival at San Gabriel Jan. 2, 1776, on his way from Monterey to San Diego to reinforce the presidio and punish the Diegueños for destroying the mission, and now we have his return to San Gabriel. Rivera and Anza had joined forces in the San Diego affair, but do not seem to have got along well together. Rivera was certainly a difficult man for anyone to deal with; some of his associates appear to have doubted that he was in his right mind. We here see how he treated Garcés, and what a singular order he issued for the treatment of any Indians who should come to the California establishments from the Colorado river. He seems to have been "rattled" by the San Diego affair; indeed, in relation to the very order of which Garcés goes on to complain, the scholiast of the MS. notes in the margin that this was what made Rivera so timid (*produjo*

time (*en la actualidad*) was in San Diego, and in the same manner did he absolutely deny me all that which I requested. A few days after I received his reply His Worship (*su Merced*) arrived at San Gabriel; to whom I represented that there could be no such impossibility as he had written me, considering that here there were many animals belonging to the expedition; that the padres would furnish provisions on his order; that as His Worship was going on to Monterey I could go in his company as far as the end of the Canal (*hasta salir de la Canal*), to which point was the escort necessary, we then separating to proceed on our respective routes. Seeing the truthfulness (*verosimil*) and feasibility (*facil*) of this proposal, he no longer alleged impossibility, as he had done in writing; but simply said that he had no orders from His Excellency, and for that reason could furnish me with nothing; only he did let me have a horse belonging to the expedition.

---

este timido motivo en Rivera), and sums his character in the following terms: "Rivera era vn Payo juicioso, pero corto de entendimiento y practica en otras cosas finas, pero conocia el caracter de los Indios del suelo"—he was a judicious churl, but lacked insight and experience in delicate matters, though he knew the character of the natives. As the reader of the biography of Garcés, *antea*, will remember, Rivera was killed in his camp at the mouth of the Gila on the first day of the Yuma massacre, July 17, 1781.

These circumstances persuade me that the señor comandante has taken it much amiss that I came into these parts, inasmuch as in his reply to the (letter I wrote him) on my arrival he states to me that not in the very least (*ni tantito*) does it please him that the Indians of the Rio Colorado should come to the establishments of Monte-Rey. In fact, a little while before I arrived at San Gabriel there had been here some Jamajab Indians for their commerce in shells—those whom I met on their return to their land, as I say above [Mar. 17]; and information of this having reached the señor comandante, he ordered in writing the corporal who is in the mission that he should seize those Jamajab Indians, and take them as prisoners on the way to their land till they should be left afar from here. This order was not carried into execution because the Indians had already taken their departure when it arrived. I do not doubt that the señor comandante would remain unshaken in his resolution (*pensaria solidamente para esta determinacion*), in consequence of the opinion he has formed that communication and trade between the nations of the Rio Colorado and those of the coast is pernicious; but, by his leave, I say that this appears to me so far from being pernicious that rather do I consider it necessary, in order to carry out with security the project of opening communication between these provinces and those establishments.[31] It is the common policy in every nation, to refuse right of way (*negar el paso*) to all those whom they know to be going to favor their enemies; so, if the nations of the river and those of the coast are at war, how then will the Españoles get to those missions, the transit being necessary through the former? Furthermore: the king our lord commands that all the gentiles who arrive at the presidios be admitted with demonstrations of kindness and benevolence; then how can an order be given to arrest them, without contravening the mandate of his majesty? International law (*el derecho de las gentes*) allows the commerce of nations with one another; how then can be prevented the legitimate and most ancient commerce of the nations of the river with those of the sea, which consists of certain white shells? If we go to preach to the gentiles the law of love (*una ley que toda es cari-*

---

[31] Garcés is writing this at Tubutáma in Sonora, next year after the date of the events narrated; hence "these" provinces (Provincias Internas) and "those" establishments of California. His scholiast notes in the margin that the padre reasoned well at the time, but that the rebellion and outrages of Palma and his Yumas (1781), in which the padre lost his life, would seem to have justified Rivera's fears of what might happen if the Indians of the Colorado and of the coast should join forces, as he believed they already had done; hence his anxiety to keep them apart.

dad), how can be approved anything that sows discord? Some of the nations who are nearest to the new establishments are most justly irritated with the Spanish soldiers at the outrages they have suffered, especially from deserters; soon, if these same motives be given to the remote nations, they may unite with one another, then will the new establishments be unable to subsist, and still less can others be founded; remaining thus defeated the Catholic wishes of our monarch. Wherefore can I not assent to the dictum of the señor comandante; rather do I well persuade myself that it would have been both just and useful for him to have ordered those Jamajab Indians to be received and treated kindly, in order that they should carry this good news to their land, to the end that the good conduct of the Españoles should become known to the Gentiles. They were entertained by the officiating padres, the soldiers, and the neophytes; whereupon they went back contented, and speaking well of them (their hosts), as I found by the information (they gave me) on the road; which would not have been the case but quite the reverse (*antes bien todo lo contrario*), if the arrest ordered to be made had been carried into effect; and even would they have complained to their friends the Yumas, through which nation had the Señor Teniente Coronel Don Juan Bautista de

Ansa to pass on his return, who perhaps in consequence might not have been received by them in the same manner as theretofore. Already have I said above that the prompt tranquilization of San Diego resulted from this: that the Quemayá having come with the information,[23] found friends of the Spaniards in all the nations of the river, and witnessed at the same time the affability and good treatment that they were experiencing from the señor comandante of the expedition. Such is my opinion.

With regard to provisions, that which the Señor Comandante Rivera did not do was then made up for by the kindness of my brothers the padres, who also outfitted (*regalaron*) my companions; and with these I proceeded to carry out my designs, but not by way of the Canal, the padres having assured me that there was much risk in going that way. I was in this mission until the 8th of April (inclusive).

[23] See back, p. 206, where the Comeyá brings to Yuma the report of the destruction of San Diego.

---

[1] *This* Santa Clara has nothing to do with the mission of the same name which was founded in Jan., 1777, and long afterward gave name to Santa Clara county, etc.; the reference is to the Santa Clara river or valley, greatly further south than the said county, falling into the Santa Barbara channel near San Buenaventura. As early as 1772 or 1773 it had been proposed to found a mission on the river, or in this valley, but the project was never carried into effect. This double employ of the name

should be borne in mind to prevent misunderstanding. The four Mojaves whom Garcés met were evidently returning from this Santa Clara river or region, which is not far north of San Gabriel mission, whither he was going. But the woman in the two cases appears to be identical. She was born of a noble family of Assisi, Italy, in 1193, died in 1253, was canonized 1255, and has her day on Aug. 12. She is described as a frivolous fashionable girl, who at the early age of 17 was so much affected by the preaching of St. Francis that she became a religious, retired to the convent of Porciuncula, and finally became famous for her piety and austerity. In 1212 she founded the religious sorosis called in French l'Ordre de Sainte-Claire or Les Clarisses—a name which reminds us of Clarissa Harlowe, the virtuous heroine of Samuel Richardson's novel of 1748. See beyond, date of Apr. 13, p. 267.

[19] Marl springs is the principal watering place between the Rock springs or Government holes already said and the Sink of the Mojave river to which we presently come; but Garcés' mileages of the 7th, 8th, and 9th are not so adjustable that we can confidently identify his Pozos de San Juan de Dios with Marl springs, though his total leaguage from Cedar springs to the Sink is near enough. Also, the trail we have followed thus far joins the main road at Marl springs, and if he was not there on the 8th there is no named place that I know of where he could have found abundant water and grass. When I left Government holes I nooned at Marl springs, Nov. 1, went 15 miles further to a dry camp, and made the sink in 20 miles next day.

[20] More fully San Gabriel Arcángel, a notable character in old Jewish and new Christian mythology, also utilized in the Koran as a medium of revelation to Mohammed: see Dan. viii, 16; ix, 21; Luke i, 19, 26, where the archangel is supposed to interpret Daniel's dreams, and announce the birth of John the Baptist and Jesus. The name is Hebrew, translated "God is

my strong one." This mission was the fourth of the California series, founded Sept. 8, 1771, and still in evidence in the environs of Los Angeles, which latter city was originally established as a pueblo Sept. 4, 1781. It had been intended at first to set the mission on Rio de Santa Ana, which at one time was known as Rio Jesus de los Temblores, or Jesus of the Earthquakes river; whence the mission was sometimes called San Gabriel de los Temblores, though its actual site was near the later San Gabriel river, which had been called Rio de San Miguel in 1768, and of which the principal branch is Los Angeles river, originally called more extensively Rio de Nuestra Señora de los Angeles de Porciúncula, sometimes also Rio Porciúncula. The people who were to start the new mission were drawn from San Diego in August, 1771, and the first ministers were Padres Somera and Cambon. There was almost immediately a fracas with the natives, on account of the outraging of Indian women by Spanish soldiers, and some blood was shed; re-enforcements were at once brought by Governor Fages, and two new padres replaced the former ones. Who these were on the arrival of Font on Jan. 4 and of Garcés on Mar. 24, 1776, together with some account of the mission at this date, is given in the following extract from Font's Diary:

"*Jan. 4, Thursday.* The mission of San Gabriel is situated about eight leagues distant from the sea, in a place of most beautiful proportions, with enough water and very good grounds. The site is level and unobstructed (*despejado*), about two leagues from the Sierra Nevada, which bounds it on the north, and from which at the Puerto de San Carlos we came, having it on the right; it seems that here it ceases to be snowy, but it does not end, for it is the [San Bernardino and San Gabriel ranges of the] same Sierra Madre de California, which continues on very far into the country, and to all appearances is the same continuous sierra which Padre Garcés passed on this journey and named Sierra de San Marcos [for which see beyond, at date of Apr. 25, p. 271]. On leaving camp [this morning at the Arroyo de San Gabriel] we went by a bed of swollen river [overflow channel of the river—*casa de rio crecido*] which was without water, and has enough small woods, and it is the river which runs to the old site of the mission, where it has always sufficient water. In this mission we found the señor capitan comandante de Monterey Don Fernando de Ribera y Moncada [commonly Rivera y Moncarda], who, on account of the insurrection of the Indians of the mission of San Diego, which they destroyed and killed its minister, Padre Fray Luis Jaume, had come on his way to that presidio from Monterey and arrived at this mission [San Gabriel] on the night of the 2d. A little before our arrival there came out on the road to receive us the señor comandante Rivera, and the padre ministro of the mission Fray Antonio Paterna; and our arrival was (a matter) of much joy to all, the guard of the mission receiving us with a salute, and the other two padres who were here, Padre Fray Antonio Cruzado and Padre Fray Miguel Sanchez, with many peals of bells and with especial demonstrations of content.

"*Jan. 5.* We remained to rest; and the señores comandantes talked over the business of the rebellion of the Indians of San Diego. After breakfast I went with Padre Sanchez to see the spring of water whence they bring the acequia for this mission of San Gabriel, by means of which are conferred the greatest conveniences; for, besides being sufficient, and passing in front of the house of the padres, and of the little huts (*jacalitos*) of the Christian Indians who compose this new mission, who will be some 50 souls of recent converts, big and little, this acequia renders all the flats of the immediate site apt for sowing, so that the fields are close to the pueblo; and it is a mission which has such good adaptabilities (*proporciones*) to crops, and is of such good pastures for cattle and horses, that no better could be desired. The cows that it has are very fat, and give much rich milk, with which they make many cheeses and very good butter; there is a litter of pigs and a small flock of sheep, of which on our coming they killed three or four muttons that they had, whose meat was particularly good, and I do not remind myself of having eaten mutton more fat and beautiful; and they have also some chickens. It has enough wood of oak (*madera de ensinos*) and other logs (*palos*) for building, and consequently much fuel (*leña*); only is wanting lime, which has not been found hitherto, though perhaps by searching well it may be found, to improve the buildings, which at present are some of adobe, and the most of wattles and tule, for which reason they are very risky and exposed to fire. At present the whole building is reduced to one very large hovel (*jacalon*), all in one piece with three divisions, and this serves as the habitation of the padres, granary (storehouse—*troxe*, for *troje*), and every thing else; somewhat apart from this there is another square hovel (*jacal*) which serves as a church; and near this another, which is the guardhouse, as they call it, or quarters of the soldiers of the escort, who live in it, who are eight; and close by some little huts (*jacalitos*) of tule which are the little houses (*casitas*) of the Indians, between the which and the house of the padres runs the acequia. In the spring of water grows naturally *apio*, and other herbs which appear to be lettuces (*lechuguitas*) and some roots like parsnips; and there are thereabouts many coleworts (*nabos*) which from a little seed that was sown now cover the ground; and near the old site of the mission, which is distant from this new one about a league southward, grows great abundance of water-cresses (*berros*) of which I ate enough; and finally is the land, as Padre Paterna says, like the Land of Promise; though indeed the padres have suffered in it many needinesses and travails, because beginnings are always difficult, and more so in those lands where there was nothing, and they would suffer the inconvenience of lacking supplies for two years. The converted Indians of this mission, who are of the Beñemé nation, and also Jeneguechi (*sic*), seem tame, and of middling good heart; they are of medium stature, and the women somewhat smaller; round-faced (*cariredondos*), flat-nosed (*chatos*), and rather ugly; their custom in gentiledom is for the men to go entirely naked, and the women wear some sort of deer skin with which they cover themselves, and also some small coat (*cobija*) of skins of otter or of hare; though the padres try to make the converts dress as well as they can. The method which the padres observe in the reduction is not to force anybody to make himself christian, and they only admit those who voluntarily offer themselves, and this they do in this fashion: As these Indians are accustomed to live in the plains and hills like beasts, so if they wish to be christians they must not take to the woods (*no se han de ir al monte*), but they must live in the mission, and if they leave the rancheria (for thus they call the huts and dwelling place of the Indians) they will be gone in search of, and be punished. Whereupon they (the padres) begin to catechize the gentiles who voluntarily come, showing them how to make the sign of the cross and the rest that is necessary, and if they (the Indians) persevere in the catechism for two or three months with the same mind, being instructed therein they pass on to baptism. The discipline of every day is this: in the morning at sunrise mass is said regularly, and in this, or without it if it is not said, all the Indians join together, and the padre recites with all the christian doctrine, which is finished by singing the Alabado, which is sung in all the missions in one way and in the same tone, and the padres sing it even though they may not have good voices, inasmuch as uniformity is best. Then they go to breakfast on the mush (*atole*) which is made for all, and before partaking of it they cross themselves and sing the Bendito; then they go to work at whatever can be done, the padres inclining them and applying them to the work by setting an example themselves; at noon they eat their soup (*posole*), which is made for all alike (*de comunidad*); then they work another stint; and at sunset they return to recite doctrine and end by singing the Alabado. The christians are distinguished from the gentiles in that they manage to go clothed after a fashion (*tal qual vestidos*), or covered as well as the indigence of these lands will permit; and no account is kept with the catechumens of the soup, unless some of what is left over is given to them. If any Indian wishes to go to the woods to see his relatives, or to gather acorns, he is given permission for a specified number of days (*por dias señalados*), and regularly they do not fail to return, and sometimes they come with a gentile relative who stays to catechism, either through the example of the others, or attracted by the soup, which suits them better than their herbs and eatables of the woods, and thus these Indians are wont to be gathered in by the mouth [as we say, "the way to a man's heart is through his stomach"]. The doctrine which is recited in all the missions is the brief of Padre Castañi, with total uniformity, without any padre being able to vary it by a word or add a single thing; and this is recited in Castillian, even though the padre may understand the (Indian) language, as is the case in the mission of San Antonio, whose minister, Padre Fray Buenaventura Sitjar, understands and speaks well the language of the Indians of that mission, and with all is recited the doctrine in Castillian, and as the padre translated (*sacó*) the doctrine in the vernacular, the most that is done is to recite daily once in that, and again in Castillian; conforming thereby with that which has been so many times ordered since the first Mexican Council, and treated so well by Señor Solorrano, that the Indian be taught doctrine in Castillian, and be made to speak in Castillian, inasmuch as all the languages of the Indians are barbarous, and very lacking in terms (*muy faltas de terminos*). In the missions it is arranged that the grown-up girls (*muchachas grandes doncellas*) sleep apart in some place of retirement (*recogimiento*), and in the mission of San Luis (Obispo) I saw that a married soldier acted as mayordomo of the mission, so that the padre had some assistance, and his wife took care of the girls, under whose charge they were, and whom they called the matron (*la maestra*), and she by day kept them with her, teaching them to sew, and other things, and at night locked them up in a room, where she kept them safe from every insult, and for this were they called the nuns; the which seemed to me a very good thing.

Finally, the method which the padres observe in these new missions seemed to me very good, and I note that the same which is done in one, is done in the rest, and this is what suited me best; excepting the mission of San Diego, in which, it being the poorest, and the soil not permitting through the little suitability that it has, there are no fields in common, nor any private ones, nor is given soup to all, and the Indians are allowed to live on their rancherias, under obligation to come to mass on Sundays, as is done in California Baxa; and this is the reason why this mission is so backward, besides that its Indians are the worst of these new missions."

The foregoing is no doubt the best description extant of San Gabriel as it was in 1776, just before Garcés' visit. It is also the clearest indication I have found of the relative positions of the first temporary and second definitive sites; the former of which, however, was such a mere beginning that San Gabriel may be said to have always been in the other position. Font also gives us a very clear insight into the working of these missions in early days. Fancy a pack of stolid squalid root-diggers put through such a "demnition grind" of theology! But it can be said in favor of the system that they were fed, and allowed to sing; that the girls were locked up at night; and that all were taught to talk Spanish while they were being made to "walk Spanish."

Mr. Hodge reminds me to say that those who would like to hear more of Padre Sitjar may look up his Vocabulary of the Language of San Antonio Mission, California. By Father Bonaventure Sitjar, of the Order of St. Francis. Printed under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution. New York: Cramoisy Press. 1861. (Shea's Library of American Linguistics, vii.) The author was son of Antonio Sitjar and Juana Pastor, born at Perreras, near Palmas, in Majorca, Dec. 9, 1739; founder of the San Antonio mission, July 14, 1771, with Junipero Serra, and of the San Miguel mission, July 25, 1797. He died at San Antonio, Sept. 3, 1808, and was buried near the altar of the church.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM SAN GABRIEL THROUGH THE TULARES TO MOJAVE, APRIL 9-MAY, 1776.

Apr. 9. I departed from this mission of San Gabriel, accompanied by two Indians of the mission and by my former companions. Having traveled a league and a half northwest and westnorthwest I arrived at a rancheria where were the Indians well content. I preached to them by means of an Indian of the mission, who is Castellano.[1] Hence[2] the two from San Gabriel returned.

Apr. 10. With a guide whom the gentiles gave me I departed, and having gone two leagues and a half northwest arrived at another rancheria where I nooned (*donde hize media dia*); in the afternoon I traveled three leagues northnorthwest with some windings in other directions, holding always to the skirt of the Sierra de San Gabriel on my right.[3]

---

[1] That is to say, the Indian understood Spanish, and could act as interpreter.

[2] Not on account of the good father's sermon, let us hope; but hence, *de aqui*, from this place.

[3] San Gabriel range is still the name of the mountains Garcés

Apr. 11. I tarried in this place to send back to San Gabriel for a small book that I had left there.

Apr. 12. I went two leagues and a half northwest with some turns; passed a cienega and two arroyos, and arrived at a rancheria where the young women were in hiding on account of some experiences they had on the passing of the soldiers; for, though this is not the road, yet these people go down at times to the sea, and then have they seen and experienced various abuses. Since I departed from San Gabriel there was on my left another sierra.[4] I observed this position and found it in 34° 13′.[5]

---

is cotoying northwestward, approximately in line with the railroad which now runs into Los Angeles. He is passing this way up San Fernando valley, and his progress thus far sets him somewhere between Sepulveda and the mission mentioned in the next note but one.

[4] Portions of the Coast range now known as Santa Monica and Santa Susanna mts. lie in the direction indicated.

[5] Observation not exact, but it is evident from the distances and courses that Garcés is now in the vicinity of the mission of San Fernando, which was founded Sept. 8, 1797, and gave name to the valley in which it was situated. This was the 17th in order of time of the Californian missions, and the 4th of the five founded in 1797-98, between San Buenaventura and San Gabriel; it was started in Encina valley at Reyes' ranch, a spot known to the natives as Achois or Achoic Comihavit. It was under Gobernador Diego de Borica that Padre Presidente Fermin Fernando Lasuen, with Padre Francisco Dumetz, dedicated the establishment to San Fernando Rey de España. This saint

Apr. 13. I passed over a sierra[6] that comes off from the Sierra Nevada and runs to the westnorthwest, and entered into the Valle de Santa Clara,[7] having gone two leagues on a north course; in the afternoon, having gone a league and a half northwest, I arrived at the Cienega de Santa Clara. One of the Jamajabs having been taken sick, I tarried in this place until the 23d day; during which time I visited various rancherias that there are in these sierras, as also the caxones and arroyos, with much water and most abundant grass, and from whose inhabitants I

---

was Fernando III. of Spain, b. about 1200, d. 1252, King of Castile 1217, and King of Leon 1230, thus uniting these crowns; canonized by Clement X. in 1671, and calendared for May 30. He was son of Alfonso IX. of Leon and Berengaria, sister of Henry I. of Castile; his exploits were directed against the Moors, from whom he took Ubeda in 1234, Cordova in 1236, Jaen in 1246, and Seville in 1248; he also caused to be translated and codified the Forum Judicum or Visigothic laws. At the new mission besides Dumetz there was Padre Francisco Xavier Uría, and both served for several years, with very fair luck in raising neophytes, stock, and crops.

[6] Making the pass through which the railroad now runs, and reaching the vicinity of stations Andrews, Newhall, etc., still in Los Angeles county, near the border of Ventura county.

[7] Present name of the valley through which flows the large river of the same name from Los Angeles county through Ventura county to the sea near San Buenaventura; to be distinguished from any application of the name in the much further northward Santa Clara county, etc., though the saint concerned is the same; see note [7], p. 257.

experienced particular meekness and affability. I baptized one infirm old man, the father of the chief of these rancherias, having instructed him by means of Sevastian, though with difficulty. There came other Indians from the northnortheast and promised to conduct me to their land, as also they did with five more Jamajabs who arrived these days to trade.

Apr. 23. I departed west, and at a little distance took a course north, on which I surmounted the great sierra; and halted at a cienega that is on the descent, having traveled thus far nine leagues.[*]

Apr. 24. I went half a league northeast and found a laguna,[*] and near thereto a rancheria where, according-ing to the signs, had been Señor Capitan Faxes.[10] The Indians were very affable, and the women cleanlier and neater than any I had seen before of this same Beñemé nation. In the evening there came two Indians from the north, known to the Jamajabs by the name of Cuabajay.[11]

---

[*] This is a long lap, chiefly northward, with but little to guide us on his trail. But it appears probable, as well as I can gather from the scant indications, that the Santa Clara river was crossed at or near Castac, a place at the mouth of the creek of the same name; up which creek Garcés went as far as its first fork, there taking the right-hand branch, to be found on modern maps by the name of Cañada de la Laguna, and following this up over the Libra mts. There is no question that this range is the "great sierra" he makes to-day; the course here noted is quite right for Garcés' "north," with due allowance for magnetic variation E.; and the laguna he finds to-morrow, half a league from to-night's camp, may not impossibly be the very one which gives name to the Cañada de la Laguna.

[*] This laguna is queried by Bancroft, Hist. Cal., i, p. 276, as Elizabeth lake, which it would be if Garcés went on the usual road from Newhall, up San Francisco creek, and thus by the pass of the same name, over the Libra mts. But it seems to me

---

a little too far E., and I must adhere to the determination made in my last note.

[10] Or Fages—Capt. and afterward Lt.-Col. Don Pedro Fages, governor, etc., who seems to have been the first to approach the Tulares in 1773, as noted on p. 251.

[11] I cannot trace the Cuabajay; they were, however, more likely Shoshonean (Paiutes) than Mariposan (Yakuts). Of the Inds. about Tulare valley and eastward, Powers (Tribes of Cala., pp. 370-371) says: "So severe were the latter [the Paiute attacks] that the Yokuts, as a geographically solid body of allied tribes, were cut in two in one place and nearly in another. Their habitat stretched originally from the Fresno river to Fort Tejon; but the Paiuti tribes, swarming through Ta-hi'-cha-pa, Tejon, and Walker's passes, seized and occupied Kern river, White river, Posa creek, and Kern lake, thus completely severing the Yokuts nation, and leaving an isolated fragment of it at Fort Tejon, in a nook of the mountains. . . At the time of the American advent, therefore, the Yokuts occupied the south bank of the Fresno; the San Joaquin, from Whisky creek down to the mouth of the Fresno; King's river, from Mill creek down to the mouth; the Kaweah, Tule river, and Deer creek; the west shore of Tulare lake, and the isolated mountain nook at Fort Tejon. Their tribal distribution was as follows: On the San Joaquin, from Whisky creek down to Millerton, are the Chuk'-chan-si; farther down, the Pit'-ka-chi, now extinct. On King's river, going down stream, are the following bands, in their

Apr. 25. I completed the passage of the sierra, crossed a valley, and came upon another large sierra

---

order: Tis-e'-chu, Chai-nim'-ai-ri, It-i-cha, Wi'-chi-kik, Ta'-chi, No-toan'-ai-ti, the latter on the lake, the Tachi at Kingston. On Dry creek are the Kas-so'-vo; in Squaw valley the Chu-kai'-mi-na. On the Kaweah river, beginning in the mountains, are the Wik'-sach-i, Wik-chum-si (in the foot-hills), Kau-i'-a [not the Shoshonean Kauvuya] (on the edge at the plains), Yu'-kol (on the plains), Te'-lum-ni (two miles below Visalia), Chu'-nut (at the lake). On Tule river are the O-ching'-i-ta (at Painted Rock), Ai'-a-pai (at Soda spring), Mai-ai'-u (on South fork), Sa-wakh'-tu (on the main river), Kai-a-wet'-ni (at Porterville). At Fort Tejon are the Tin-lin-neh (from *tin'-nilh*, 'a hole'), so called on account of some singular depressions in the earth in that vicinity. A little further north, near Kern lake, are the Po-hal'-lin-Tin'-leh (squirrel holes), so named on account of the great number of ground-squirrels [*Spermophilus beecheyi*] living in that place. . . Every [Yokuts] village consists of a single row of wigwams, conical or wedge-shaped, generally made of tule, and just enough hollowed out within so that the inmates may sleep with the head higher than the feet, all in perfect alignment, and with a continuous awning of brushwood stretching along in front. In one end-wigwam lives the village captain; in the other the shaman or *si-se-ro* (Spanish *hechisero*)." These houses do not agree with Garcés' description. But see the Shoshone houses following: "Among these [Paiute] tribes [bordering on the Yokuts] are the Pal-li-ga-wo-nap' (from *pal-up'*, 'stream,' and *e-ke'-wan*, 'large') on Kern river; the Ti-pa-to-la'-pa on the south fork of the Kern; and the Wi-nan-gik' on the north fork. Another name for the Tipatolapa was the Ku-chi-bich-i-wa-nap' Pal-up' (little stream). At Bakersfield was a tribe called by the Yokuts, Pal'-e-um-ni. In the famous Tahichapah pass was a tribe called by themselves Ta-hi-cha-pa-han'-na; by the Kern river Indians, Ta-hichp'; and by which makes off from the Sierra Nevada and extends northeastward; to which I gave the name of (Sierra de) San Marcos.[12] We made the ascent (*hizimos alto*) near an arroyo, having traveled thus far four leagues north. In the evening I went a league in the same direction, and halted in the cited arroyo.

---

the Yokuts, Kâ-wi'-a-suh. They are now extinct. The Kern River Indians were called by the Yokuts of Fort Tejon, Pi-tan'-ni-suh; and the Indians of Kern lake, Pal-wu'-nuh (which denotes 'down below'). On Kern River slough are the Po-e'-lo; at Kern River falls, the To-mo'-la; on Posa creek, the Be'-ku. On White river there are no Indians, neither have there been for many years, owing to the prevalence of malaria; but there are indications that the lands along this stream were once inhabited" (p. 393). [The Palligawonap] "live in wigwams made of tule, woven and matted into various fashions. Tule is also the material from which they construct a rude water-craft. This is only about six feet in length, with the bow very long and sharp-rounded, and the stern cut nearly square across" (p. 394).—F. W. H.

[12] The Tehachapai or Tehachepi range of modern nomenclature, given off in the direction said from the main Sierra Nevada. It is crossed in several places, the best known of which is the Tejon pass, in which was situated Fort Tejon, a military post which was flourishing in the '50's. The San Marcos or Tehachapai range is what shuts in the Tulare valley on the southeast, across the head of the valley, by connecting the main Sierra Nevada on the west with the mountains which enclose the valley on the east. I take no exception to Bancroft's statement that Garcés "entered the great Tulare valley by way of Turner's and Tejon passes," for I think that this is most probable; yet I should hesitate to so affirm without a saving clause.

There are on this sierra large pines, oaks, and other trees.

Apr. 26. I surmounted the Sierra de San Marcos, having traveled two leagues and a half north; thereupon I saw large sierras, and caxones very leafy and grassy, and in three leagues and a half further, on courses west and southwest, I arrived at some rancherias of the Cuabajay nation, wherein they received me well, the old women regaling me with many seeds, especially of the chia[18] with which those grounds abound.

---

[18] *Chia* is the Spanish name of the lime-leaved sage, *Salvia tiliæfolia*, a labiate plant of the mint family. In Mexico, Arizona, and California *chia* is applied to several different indigenous species of the same genus, especially *S. columbariæ*, the seeds of which are edible, and also used for making a mucilaginous infusion something like flaxseed tea.

On the general subject of food plants in the Tulare valley Mr. Hodge writes me: "*Chia* is doubtless the *chelis* of the Yokuts of the Tule River reservation. It is the shepherd's purse (*Capsella bursa-pastoris*, a well-known cruciferous plant); 'the seed highly esteemed for pinole, a very nutritious, farinaceous beverage which the Indians learned from the Mexicans' (Powers, Tribes of Cala., p. 428). The *lâ-chun* (*Compositæ*) is used for the same purpose. Tule pollen, *ail-loh*, is also used for making pinole or mush; this is derived from *Scirpus californicus* or *S. tatara*. *Hau'-pun* (Span. *fresnio*) is a *root* highly esteemed as a purgative in certain internal diseases. *Al'-lit* is a "kind of salt," principally alum in a crude state, collected by these Indians as a seasoning for greens. They go in the morning, when the dew is on, to a low, alkaline piece

This I named the Rancheria de San Pasqual. The disposition and form of their dwelling-house is as follows: A spacious square inclosure, completed by an archway or covering of mats upon bows of willow, the mats sewn of the same tule, of which material is the roof composed, in which are there some openings for the escape of smoke.[14] It has only two doors, on

---

of ground, and either pull up the grass and dissolve the salt off from the water, or collect it by sweeping a stick through the grass and washing off the adhering salt (*Ibid.*, p. 429). *Ke'-yet-sah* is a plant of the *Cruciferæ*, with reversed siliques; its seed is used in making panada or mush. *So'-gön* is a wild tobacco; dried and beaten up very fine, then wet and compressed together in solid lumps or plugs. Around old camps and corrals there is found a wild tobacco (*pan*) which Asa Gray pronounces *Nicotiana quadrivalvis*, and Prof. Bolander *N. plumbaginifolia.* Smoked alone or mixed with dried manzanita leaves it has a pungent peppery taste, not unpleasant."

[14] In the original: "Vn claustro ancho en quadro perfecto de bobeda, ó cubierta de petates con arcos de saus cozidos los petates del mismo túle de su materia con que está cubierto en el que ay algunas ventanas para que salga el humo." This is a description of a type of the large communal houses built by various tribes of the Pacific slopes, the sides of upright logs or poles like palisades, the roof thatched with bulrush mats supported on bowed sticks, the interior divided into separate rooms whose entrances face each other, and the outer wall with opposite entrance on two sides. Compare note [11], this chapter.

The Beaumont MS. has: "Vn claustro ancho, con arcos de sauz, y la bobeda hecha de petates de tule delgado y cosido, en la que ay algs. ventanas para que salga el humo," etc. The printed Doc. differs again: "un claustro quadrado y grande the east and on the west, and at each of these there is a sentinel all night. This cloister or corridor (*claustro ó galera*) consists of several cells or compartments on all four sides wherein they enter to sleep whenever the hour arrives, and at this time each family stays by the fire in front of the door of its own room. I said that only the old women entertained me; inasmuch as, the Jamajabs having hastened forward to give notice of my approach, so soon as they knew that I was an Español, all the young persons fled to the woods, and there remained none when I arrived at this rancheria. Therein they also thought might be Españoles the two Jamajabs who went clothed on the whole journey, the one in my shirt and the other in my blanket; wherefore were they also regarded with suspicion. But after a while, seeing that I did them no harm, and that my companions were not Españoles, but Jamajabs, all the people were coming out of the woods; and with much contentment at the sight of me they kissed the crucifix, and showed by their manner that it was good, and that they would believe whatsoever I told them. They gave me to understand that for the night their captain had caused to be sent all the animals from the part of the west to that of the east, for the reason that

con arcos de sauz, y el techo de petates de tule delgado y cosido; tiene algunas ventanas," etc.

on the former side were there bad people. My Jamajabs were grieved because those of the rancheria ceased not to ask me if I was an Español of the west; they said no, that I was of the east, that I did harm to no one, and that for this reason did all the nations desire me much; that they themselves accounted me as a Jamajab, and therefore came they with me.

As these stories pleased them (*sabidas estas borúcas*), at the approach of night I entered in the great hut, where I found each family at its own fireside; I went on greeting and laughing with them all until I came to that of the captain, where I seated myself, and by means of Sevastian and of another Indian who was well versed in the language of San Gabriel, I told him that I well knew he had a good heart and that no harm would he do me; but that they told me that hereabouts were there bad people, and would he inform me if he knew anything about it? "Have no fear," he replied, "that any will do thee harm. I will accompany thee to-morrow with all my people to the next rancheria. We know that thou hast behaved well to the people of the great river." With which response was I greatly comforted. Thereupon I arose and recited the rosary (*corona*) of Maria Santisima, singing the hymn (*alabado*) with the Indian Sevastian and the two Jamajabs who accompanied me from the beginning, and who already knew the

Ave Maria. This have I practiced in all the rancherias, and it has served to the great astonishment of all the nations. The first who witnessed and heard this performance gave prompt notification thereof, and of the compass-needle, breviary, and Santo Cristo, to all the others; and thus it occurred to me that they themselves asked me, "When dost thou pray? See! Those persons who are not now present do not wish thee to leave till they may see thee pray and sing." I have observed that this was to set me praying, that then their shoutings, dancings and chaffings (*borúcas*) ceased, and everything remained in profound silence. In many places they sought to trade my rosary for a multitude of white shells. A little while after the service began the wife of the chief arose, took a basket (*corita*) of seed (*chico*) and scattered it over the Santo Cristo I wore on my breast; the same did other women, and they even threw some of this seed (*semilla*) on the fire, in order that there should be a bright light.[14a] Having finished the praying and singing I seated myself by the captain and the rest of the elders of the rancheria, who had assembled as soon as I began the services. They smoked the tobacco that I gave them, and begged me to exhibit again—already had I done this with some of them during the evening—the breviary, compass-needle, and other little things, manifesting great delight throughout. This seen (*visto esto*), the captain took a white stone, which he drew out of a bag and threw it on the fire, in order that it should be heated; he withdrew it at the proper time, and braying it well in a stone mortar mixed it with wild tobacco (*tabaco del monte*) and water till it became as it were a paste (*atóle*). Then he handed me the pestle of the mortar, that also was of stone, in order that I should taste that mess (*caldo*), which I found extremely bitter. I returned him the pestle, which he wetted again, and gave to an old man, who licked it very well though it was with great effort that he was able to swallow that sauce (*salsa*), which all the others successively tasted. My companions the Jamajabs having tried it were attacked at once with vomitings so violent that I thought one of them would die; which those of the rancheria greeted (*celebraron*) with great laughter. Then the meeting was broken up, for that there was no one else who would try it any more. I slept within the lodge near the door. I have been able to ascertain that they drink this sort of gruel (*este genere de atóle*) to cure fatigue, and consequently it is customary to offer it to all their guests. I saw here small baskets (*coritas*), knives of flint, vessels (*bateas*) with inlays (*embutidos*) of mother of pearl, like the shell-work (*texidos de cuentas*) on the handles of the knives, and all the other articles (*obras*—manufactures) that it is said there are on the Canal, with (the people of) which they carry on much commerce, and perhaps it is that very nation; according to the reports that I have they also agree closely in the dress and cleanliness of the women.

[14a] Garcés misinterprets their design, which was not to make the fire blaze up. The casting of seed into the fire was doubtless a form of sacrifice. The present Pueblos, before eating, frequently throw a small quantity of food into the fire.—F. W. H.

Apr. 27. Accompanied by the captain and the greater part of his people I went a league and a half on a course westnorthwest. I passed by good grounds and woods of the same arroyo, and arrived at another rancheria composed of several large huts. They received me with pleasure and entertained me as in the former one. I observed this position and found it in 35° 09'.[18]

This was the last observation that I made on my journey; concerning which I note that for all former ones I availed myself of the tables computed by a religious of my college for the meridian of Sonora. The Indians urged me not to proceed further, all of them, even Sevastian and the Jamajabs, refusing to accompany me; for which reason I tarried here until the 30th day, in which interval I mounted a horse twice and explored the neighborhood of this locality, returning to sleep on the same spot. Knowing the longings that I had to pass onward, they told me that could not be, for that the next nation called themselves Noches, were very bad, and no relations of theirs. Finally, seeing me grieved, an old man of the Noche nation who was housed (*casado*—married) in this rancheria agreed to be my guide and companion.

---

[18] This is about the latitude of Kern and Buenavista lakes, which are connected, both discharging northwestward into Kern river a few miles above Tulare lake. As Garcés mentions no such bodies of water, it is clear that he was east of them.

Apr. 30. Informing Sevastian and the Jamajabs that they should await me here for the four or five days during which I might dally, I set forth in company with the old man eastward until we passed over some hills, and halted in an arroyo which I named Arroyo de Santa Catarina;[18] having gone thus far eight leagues north. On the road I met some small boys of the Noche nation, to whom I made presents. The Sierra de San Marcos extends through these parts to the northeast and north, and is distant from that of San Luis some eleven leagues. Whilst I was eating with the old man a very good herb which grows in the arroyo, we descried on the sierra three

---

[18] This is Walker river, which Garcés strikes two or three miles above its entrance into Kern river; having crossed the line of the present railroad near Pampa station.

Noches Indians; my old man went to speak to them, but seeing that they drew not nigh to where I was I directed my steps (*me encaminé*) toward them in order to regale them. In all of which could I succeed no further than that one of them approached and threw me from some distance two squirrels. I did the same with some white shells for himself and his companions, each one of whom, as soon as they saw them (the shells), threw me two squirrels; so that, with six others which they had already given to the old man, our larder abounded. We went to sleep lower down on the border of the same arroyo, where I found two families on their ranchos.

May 1. Having gone one league northwest I came upon a large river[17] which made much noise, at the outlet (*al salir*) of the Sierra de San Marcos, and whose waters, crystalline, bountiful, and palatable, flowed on a course from the (*del*) east through a straitened channel. As soon as I came thereupon I desired to cross; albeit the current was very rapid, to withstand it was not impossible; from which the old man dissuaded me. We proceeded down river, and in a little while found a rancheria, where they were obsequious to us; I descended further, accompanied by three Indians whom I met on the road, and reached a position wherefrom I perceived a rancheria on the other side of the river, and my old man told me that here could I cross. But great difficulties presented themselves. They asked me if I knew how to swim, and I answered them nay; I supplicated them that they should make a raft, and they answered me that they knew not (how to do so).[18] At last they ordered me to undress (*desnudar*), which I did, down to shirt and drawers; they insisted that I should put off every garment, but this I refused to do. They convoyed me across between four of them by swimming, two taking me by the arms, and the other two by the body; whereupon I took advantage of the occasion to bathe at my pleasure in that water so limpid and beautiful. The mule crossed by swimming, with the clothing (*avito*, for *habito*) and saddle in baskets (*en coritas*). The people of the rancheria had a great feast over my arrival, and having regaled me well I reciprocated to them all with tobacco and glass beads, congratulating myself on seeing the people so affable and affectionate. The young men are fine fellows, and the women very comely and clean, bathing themselves every little while; they take great care of the hair and do it up in a topknot (*copéte*); they wear petticoats of antelope skin and mantas of furs, though they are not very coy (*aunque son poco recatadas*).[19] I rinsed my clothes, and in the evening came a captain of the rancheria on the west to invite me thither. I declined, with the statement that I was journeying northward; but even then they did not wish me to leave. Then I produced the compass-needle (*agujón*), and seeing that for all that they moved it about it always pointed in the direction that I said; they left me, all alike lost in amazement. No wonder—for in other nations, when they have seen the mariner's compass (*bruxula*) they have been given to understand that it possesses intelligence.

---

[17] This is Kern river, which Garcés beyond calls Rio de San Felipe, lettered Rio de San Phelipe on Font's map. He strikes Kern river at an exactly identifiable place where it leaves the mountains, and goes down it a little piece, then crossing it to the rancheria on its right bank. We thus have him safe and sure on Kern river, a little distance above Bakersfield, capital of Kern county. This stream is the principal affluent of Tulare lake, emerging from the mountains on the east side of the valley, and below Bakersfield rounding northward to the lake. The Southern Pacific railroad, coming south through the valley, turns eastward through Bakersfield and so on across the mountains. See beyond, note [illegible], p. 299, at date of May 7, when Garcés returns to Kern river, and descends it a piece to Bakersfield.

---

[18] *Respondieronme que no sabian*—which might mean either that they did not understand what he said, or did not know how to make a raft. Both the Beaumont MS. and the pub. Doc. take the latter alternative; one adds *haserlas*, the other *hacerla*.

On this famous river, which I named Rio de San

---

[19] The scholiast notes in the margin playfully, "Casi *en todas partes* experimentaba buena hospitalidad este padre."

Felipe, there are abundant pastures, famous woods, and much irrigated ground (*tierra de regadío*). Disengaging myself as best I could from the Indians, I set forth from this rancheria on the bank of the river, and went this evening three leagues northwest and partly north; whereupon I reached a river that I named (Rio) de Santiago.[30] There is no great volume of water at this time, but by the breadth of its bed it is evident the river increases largely on other occasions; it abounds in heavy timber. Here I "made night" in a rancheria of very handsome (*bellisima*) people, who showed me every attention; and I managed to reciprocate with some trifling presents. As ever since I set forth from Rio de San Felipe my old man had traversed broken ground, he was weary, and determined to proceed not beyond this rancheria, saying that someone else should go in his stead. In this Noche nation, even as in the Beñemé, is common the use of the temascál,[21] which consists of an underground room covered with sticks and grass after the manner of an oven; it has no more than one opening, which in some (cases) is in the roof and in others at the side. The hour of entering therein is either during the morning, or during the evening. When once the persons are inside, they kindle a fire; and as there is little ventilation (*desavgo*), they cease not with the heat and the smoke to cry out and to sweat until the earth grows wet; when indeed they can endure no more they climb out by means of their ladder of sticks and throw themselves into the river. This is without doubt the cause of these peoples being so clean; but though of good habit of body (*disposicion*) they are meager and quite tender-footed (*de bastante delicadeza para andar á pie*).

---

[30] This is the next stream north of Kern river, to be found on various maps as Posa, Poso, and Posey creek—one of a series of many streams, which successively come out of the mountains from the east into the great valley, and flow to or toward its sink in Tulare lake. It is delineated on Font's map, but without any name: see his trace between Rio de San Phelipe and "R. Sta Cruz." The saint concerned is James, one of several persons of apostolic times not very well identified, there being at least three in question. The one who became Santiago in Spanish acquired the character of a sort of national patron; his name attaches to much geography, besides furnishing a war cry which has occasionally been heard in territory now owned or controlled by the United States from the time when Coronado stormed Hawiku in 1540 to the Hispano-American war of 1898.

---

[21] Temascál is a word adopted in Spanish for the estufa or sweathouse which Garcés describes, from the Nahuatl *temascalli*, which is thus defined: "Salle, établissement, maison de bain, étuve. Ces sortes de bains de vapeur sont encore en usage principalement sur les hauteurs du centre du Mexique, et le mot a passé dans la langue espagnole (temazcal). Avec la postp. *co: temascalco*, dans un bain; *yuhquin temascalco*, il fait chaud comme dans un bain."—Siméon, Dictionnaire de la Langue Nahuatl, 1885.—F. W. H.

May 2. I went in company with an Indian four leagues and a half north, and passing by some uninhabited (*despobladas*) rancherias I arrived at another where there were some bearded Indians, and among them one old man who had it (the beard) so grown (*poblada*)[22] long and gray that he resembled an anchorite much to be revered; and even more so when, having begged of me the crucifix, he hung it upon his breast. In this rancheria I found that the little damsels went naked; and though in other parts the same occurred among the women grown, I have not seen in them all (*i. e.*, in any rancheria) an immodest action.[22a]

May 3. I went two and a half leagues to the north, accompanied by another Indian, and came upon the river that I called Rio de la Santa Cruz,[33] nigh unto which there was a rancheria as it were of 150 souls, who received me with great acclamation, commenc-

---

[22] *Poblado* is the word I have translated "grown" in this case, as I suppose it would not do to say "populous," or even "inhabited" of the reverend old man's beard, though that is the most usual meaning of *poblada*. Let us hope that it was neither, but *despoblada*, like the rancherias the friar passed by; for otherwise he might have regretted that he allowed the crucifix to be placed upon the graybeard's breast!

[22a] My MS. has: "En esta Rancheria reparé que las Doncellitas iban indecentes, y aunque en otras partes sucede lo mismo, en las Mugeres mayores no he visto en todas ellas accion alguna menos decente." The Beaumont MS. variant is: "En esta rancheria, reparé, que las doncellas, ivan indecentes; y con todo que a vezes succede lo mismo en las mugeres, no he advertido, ni en esta, ni en otra rancheria de esta nacion la accion menos decente." The printed Doc. varies again, as follows:

"Reparé aquí que las dencellitas (*sic*) iban indecentes, y aun á veces las mujeres, pero no vi ni aquí ni en otra ranchería accion menos decente."

[33] "R. Sta Cruz" on Font's map of 1777. This is no doubt present White river; the mileage alleged, 7 leagues north from Kern river, is near enough, and the small dry creek which intervenes between Poza creek and White river would hardly be named as a river by Garcés. White river is one of the same series of streams making out of the mountains into the valley, and running toward or into Tulare lake according to the state of the water. Higher up than Garcés comes to the stream there is a place on it called White River; and the railroad crosses it much lower down, between stations Alita and Delano.

At White river Garcés is quite up to the latitude of the southern border of Tulare lake, or rather beyond; but he is too far east to see or have anything to say of the great lake, being on the skirts of the mountains. The parallel of lat. 36° crosses about the middle of the lake, which is some 30 miles broad in any direction, though very variable in different states of the water, especially on its N. and S. sides. Garcés on White river is at the northward limit of his excursion; and any map or record which carries him further on does so in error. His trail as dotted on the map in Bancroft, Hist. Cal., i, p. 59, loops around a branch of Tulare river itself, N. of lat. 36°; but this is a mistake. "On White river there are no Indians, neither have there been any for many years; . . . but there are indications that the lands along this stream were once inhabited," says Powers, p. 393: see also note [11], this chapter. Garcés here furnishes the evidence of the fact which Powers indicates.

ing to shout soon as they saw me, " Ba! Ba! Ba! Ba! " Then they gave themselves smart slaps with the palms on the thighs. To all I presented of the small store that I bore. Whilst they were kissing the Santo Cristo, there came to me one, and begged of me in Spanish (*Castilla*) paper wherewith to make cigars. I wondered much, and on questioning him he told me that he was from the sea where there were padres like myself; that in four parts had he seen Españoles, and that it was distant herefrom a four days' journey. When he took to kiss it the Santo Cristo, he did so with great veneration, and set himself to preach to the rest. I had a suspicion that he might be some Christian who had just fled from the missions of Monte-Rey, since he made signs of shooting and of flogging.[24] Here there lay dying a little boy. I asked of his parents if they wished him to be baptized; they gave me so to understand, and I administered the sacrament with great consolation; I fondled him and called him *muchachito* (dear little boy). Then spake the Indian who had begged of me the paper, saying, "*Pare*," pointing to the west; "*Pare muchachito.*"[24a] Whereupon I was finally assured that he was an Indian refugee from the missions. There came to conduct me to their rancherias some Noche Indians from the west, whom I denied. There came yet other Noches from the north to see me, called Noches Pagninoas,[28] and sought to take me to their land; but equally did I deny myself unto them, fearing lest Sevastian and the Jamajabs should betake themselves off and should leave me thus alone, if I returned not at the time appointed. Those Indians related to me that in their land had they taken the life of two soldiers (who I persuaded myself were deserters), because they were very wicked with the women; adding that they had cut off the hands, had laid open the breast and all the body, had torn them asunder, and scattered the remains.[29] I

---

[24] *Pues hasia señas de escopeta, y de asotar.* I think the sense is as above, qu: bore the marks of shooting and flogging?

[24a] My MS. and the Beaumont copy both have the word *pare*, and the former repeats *pare* as above indicated. The sense is

---

uncertain, unless the Indian meant to say that it was all over with the little boy. But the printed Doc. gives an entirely different turn to the clause, having *padre* and *muchachito* in italics, as if the Indian simply pronounced these Spanish words, thereby indicating that he had picked them up at some mission.

[28] Unidentified, but apparently some small division or rancheria of Yokuts, of the Mariposan linguistic stock; unless we can do violence to the dissimilarity in names, and regard them as possibly the Palligawonap, a Paiute division formerly on Kern river.—F. W. H.

[29] ". . . . añadien lo que les habian cortado las manos, les habian abierto el pecho y todo el cuerpo, los havian despedazado y tirado." What was done is plain, but the ambiguity of Spanish pronouns in such a construction makes it equivocal. Did the soldiers do that to the women, or did the Indians do that to

told them that also did the Españoles put to death those who are evil-doers, and that presently would they punish two who had done wrong things with Indian women. They named to me toward the north yet other nations that I believe are no more than rancherias of the same nation, and they call themselves Choinóc, Coguifa, Buesanet.[27] On the northwest[28] live the Telamoteris,[29] who slay and possess fire-arms, and have stolen from these Indians some grown girls. They told me that northward seven days' journey there was a very great water that, according to their signs, was a river[30] and ran from the northeast, unit-

---

the soldiers? A somewhat different locution, both in the Beaumont MS. and the pub. Doc., makes it clear that the Indians thus disposed of the soldiers who had maltreated the women in some other way.

[27] These three rancherias all belonged to the Mariposan linguistic stock. The Choinóc of Garcés were doubtless the Chunut of Powers, the Choo-noot of Wessells (1853), the Cho-e-nuco of Barbour (1852), and the Choi-nucks of Johnston (1851).—F. W. H.

[28] Copy is blind at the word, whether *Nordest*, northeast, or *Noroest*, northwest. The Beaumont MS. and pub. Doc., p. 297, both have *norueste*, and so I read northwest.

[29] *Los Telamoteris—sic*, one word, as name of the tribe. The Beaumont MS. has Telám ó Torim, three words (with the two accents grave instead of acute); pub. Doc., p. 297, prints Telam ó Torim. But who the Telam *or* Torim were is left open to conjecture.

[30] This great river is of course the San Joaquin: see the trace

ing itself with the Rio de San Felipe. Let it be as I will say hereafter; one of the two branches into which it divides runs a course to the north; but they gave me to understand that the other river was three times larger than that of San Felipe. They insisted that I should go to see it, telling me that in all directions except to the northwest and west there were good people. I desired much to see the river, which according to my computation should be distant from this place some 35 or 40 leagues, howbeit they told me seven days were necessary to reach it; but these Indians travel little, because they bathe much, and do not have any covering on the feet. I determined not to go, for the reason said above, and because I had no longer the wherewithal (*que regalar*). The Sierra de San Marcos runs by here to the northnorthwest,

---

on Font's map with the legend "Rio de quien se tiene noticia por el P Garces." What the text says of its "branches," and of its joining Rio de San Felipe, is a little dubious at first sight, but is correct in fact. Kern river runs into Tulare lake, and the issue from the lake unites with the San Joaquin. No doubt this connection of the lake with the river is what is meant by the "branch" of the latter, which "runs a course to the north." The pub. Doc. has a footnote on p. 297: "Este gran rio que corre á los 36° puede ser el que entre al puerto de San Francisco en la California, ó al brazo del rio Colombia"; but we can take our stand on the San Joaquin as against any tributary of the Columbia river! It is a little remarkable that the Indians did not inform Garcés of the lake itself.

and between this and that of San Luis intervene some very broad plains; whence I infer that these are the Tulares of which Padre Font makes mention in his diary, and which his map shows with particularity. This Sierra de San Marcos is that which they saw snowy at about 40 leagues of distance on the east of the Tulares; for, though here there is no such distance, I saw clearly how the sierras go widening or disparting (from each other) in such a manner that at the last only is seen that of San Marcos.[31]

---

[31] The last sentence stands thus in the original: "Esta Sierra de San Marcos és la que vian nevada como 40 leguas de distancia al Oriente de los Tulares, pues aunque aqui no ay esta distancia, vi claramente que se van abriendo, ó apartando de las sierras, de modo que á lo ultimo solo se ve lo de San Marcos." This puzzling statement is cleared up completely if we omit the preposition *de* before *las sierras;* and that this *de* is a scribal error is evident on comparing our copy with the Beaumont MS. and the pub. Doc. I accordingly translate as above, but I may paraphrase it in plainer English, thus: "This San Marcos range is the Sierra Nevada which Font, when he was with Anza's expedition, on the Bay of San Francisco, saw at a distance of about 40 leagues across the San Joaquin valley; and though here where I am the Tulares have no such breadth, I could see them widening northward till the San Luis range ends and there is left only the Sierra Nevada." The Sierra de San Marcos, which Garcés first named at the Tehachapai range, he subsequently extended to include the Sierra Nevada as far as he knew it, on the east side of the whole Tulare and San Joaquin valleys; and this is the Sierra Nevada delineated and so lettered on Font's map, which runs "Tulares"

May 4. I went half a league east to visit a rancheria where they gave me wild rice,[38] urging me at the same time that I should make a night of it with them; and in order the more to oblige me, hardly had I arrived when all the young women came forth to bring grass for the beast, a thing whereat I wondered much, not having seen the like in any other place. I gave them of the small store that I brought, and betook myself back to the rancheria whence I had set forth; where, refusing me the guide, they made it necessary for me to pass the day with them. The little boy that I baptized was now about to die (*se iba ya muriendo*); whereupon began to wail sorely his parents, with whom some old women took turns

---

clear up through the San Joaquin valley from the Tulare valley proper to north of San Francisco. Garcés' Sierra de San Luis is the whole range or ranges bounding this same interior valley on the west. The passage in Font's Diary which speaks of sighting the Sierra Nevada at 40 leagues is found on p. 209, at date of Apr. 2, 1776: "Como á distancia de unas quarente leguas divisamos una gran *Sierra Nevada*, cuyo rumbo me pareció correr de sursudeste á nornoroeste." On that date Font left Boca del Puerto Dulce, which "mouth of the fresh water port" he made out to be in lat. 38° 05′ 30″, and which was about the modern Suisun bay and Carquines strait; traveled E. some 7 leagues, to the Arroyo de Santa Angela de Fulgino, where he camped (see his mark "100"); and between these two localities it was that from a hill he descried said "gran Sierra Nevada."

[38] *Arros simorron;* which, if we may take it botanically upon its face, means the seeds of the common *Zizania aquatica.*

(*alternaban*) in weeping and singing. Successively came yet other women, and all the young fellows (*gandúles*) of the rancheria, the same making a large circle and within it a bonfire; the parents of the boy began to wail anew, and the old women to accompany them in counter tenor (*por contraálto*); suddenly these ceased, and the captain, together with the men of the circle, commenced to sing in a mournful tone, yet keeping time (*á compas*). Presently all the men arose, and did so without putting the hands to the ground; they danced, bending the body to the measures of the same incantation, with the arms hanging down; then opening the hands and putting the arms together they extended them forward, drew them back to the breast, stretched them out crosswise (*en forma de cruz*) palms downward (*mirando las palmas á tierra*), raised them over the head, and finally clasping hands with a loud noise they squatted down plump (*de golpe*) on their hams, in all this keeping time to the tune of the song. I visited the little boy many times, and saw that his mother placed upon him all the shells that she had; I laid a small cross upon his breast, and left with him the cloth-of-gold (*pañito de sol*) that I carried, to serve as a shroud when he should die.

May 5. Still had not died the small boy. They urged me that I should not betake myself away, for they said that there were coming from all parts people to visit me; but having the care of my companions upon me, and seeing that there was none willing to accompany me, I resolved to set forth alone. Soon did I perceive (*eché de ver*) that the refusal solely originated in a desire to detain me; for at a little distance an Indian overtook me, and guided me to the rancheria whereat I had been before, which was distant two and a half leagues south. From this five Indians set forth to accompany me; I traveled with them two leagues in the same direction, on the east of which I saw one rancheria; and on a southeast course I arrived at the Rio de Santiago. In the interior of the sierra that is there the river runs more water. I passed over it, having gone thus far three leagues.[33]

Here we halted to partake of that which the Indians offered us to eat, and the same was not a little; they making me also great importunities, in order that I should rest myself. In this I did not concur, for the purpose of reaching the rancheria that I had seen on this very river when I came. Accompanied by all the men and women of this one, I departed down river, course southwest, and soon found another, and therein a captain very grave, who insisted that I should tarry, giving me to understand that on the next day he would take me to see an Español who was married to an Indian woman of the Noches Colteches,[44] who are very nigh unto here on the east; adding that said Español wore on the breast a certain round thing that I conceived should be some medal or reliquary; that he spoke of God, and pointed out to them that he (God) lived in the sky; that he (the Español) already had a little son; that he was of a good heart, and was much in request of all, living (as he did) like the rest of the Indians; and finally he (the chief) made me signs that he (the Español) was still wearing some sort of clothes (*algo de ropa*). I persuaded myself that this should be some one of the deserters, whose life was spared with great clemency.

---

[33] Altogether 7½ leagues S. and S. E., taking him back beyond Posa creek, which he strikes higher up than where he crossed it before. He is now on his return trip, and will soon bear away eastward to leave the Tulares by a different pass through mountains from that by which he entered the valley.

This captain gave me some pieces of dried bear's meat (*tasajos de oso*) and with much feeling on the part of all I took my leave when it was already very late, beginning to travel with the assurance that I should soon arrive at the rancheria which I had seen when I entered [May 1]. Two Indians set out in my company, upon whom I urged that we should follow the current of the river; but they assured me that could not be, on account of the extent of the cajones in some places. Having passed a very high hill they put me on the road, making a sign whither were the rancheria and the river, and then left me alone, in spite of all the remonstrances that I made to them, to the end that they should accompany me. This is not to be attributed to any disaffection, but only to (the fact) that they went naked, it was very cold, and for another thing they were much afraid of the bears in which these lands abound. To nothing of this did I give heed, in the anxiety that I felt to reach the place where I had left my companions; and so at a little distance I fell upon great precipices, and already was it dark. It is true that I saw some tracks; but they being for those who go afoot, I soon encountered an impediment to the progress of the mule; whereupon (*hasta que*) God willed that I could descend into a large cañada that I judged led to some one of the rivers, or at least to the plains on the west. I traveled through this the rest of the night, having the happiness of coming out, though making some turns, upon the same Rio de Santiago, on whose banks I arrived at the break of day, having traveled four leagues and a half since I departed from the last rancheria, on courses west and southwest.

---

[44] Compare beyond, p. 304, date of May 12. These Indians were probably of the Mariposan linguistic stock, bordered on the east and south by intrusive Paiute bands.—F. W. H.

May 6. Ascending and descending the river, at a loss for the situation of the rancheria I sought, I descried on the upper part four Indians. I directed my steps toward them, and when they saw me approach they fell to shouting and laughing. They were squatting down to rest under the burden of the much meat that they were carrying. They threw me some half-cooked squirrels, and bade me partake of the meat they were carrying, opening for this purpose a gray hide which appeared to be that of a mule; and as I saw with the meat a similar head, I formed the opinion that Sevastian had come in search of me, and that they had killed his beasts. Nevertheless, on account of the kind treatment I experienced from them, I condescended to go to their rancheria, whither they invited me, traveling three leagues southeast and east, the whole way through the sierra. The rancheria contained more than 100 souls, of the same Noche nation, who received me with great gusto, and in a little while entertained me with a dance. Here they repeated the information of the Español, and urged upon me that I should go to see him, saying that I should arrive in a day and a half; under apprehension of the injury I imagined done to Sevastian, I only desired to be freed from my care.

May 7. I went three leagues southsoutheast and came upon the Rio de San Felipe about one league above the place where I first crossed it (*mas arriba del paso de mi venida*). I arrived at the rancheria where I had been on that occasion, and where they now advised me that I should descend the same river, and cross it without wetting myself. To this end I traveled two leagues southwest, wondering again at the extent of woodland, pasturage, and fitness for irrigation (*proporciones de regadio*). I arrived at a rancheria which should contain some 150 souls; in which place runs the river now divided in two branches (*brazos*), and has the bed wider; so that they have been able to make a bridge of two trunks of alders,[33] which serve for the crossing, though at some hazard. The branch of this river which passes immediately by the rancheria takes a course to the westnorthwest, and they told me that lower down it turns to the north till it unites with that very large river of which the Noches Pagninoas cited above gave me some information in the last rancheria. The other branch of this river, which is smaller, flows to the west, discharging its waters when they are swollen over some very fertile plains, in which are formed large lagunas and marshes (*pantános*). This place, which has beautiful hills for the situation of missions free from all inundation, I named San Miguel de los Noches por el Santo Principe,[26] one of the patrons of the expedition. The people were rejoiced at my coming, and regaled me with much game and fish, and with a kind of marquesóte,[27] somewhat sweet, which they make of certain roots abounding in those surroundings. Nevertheless, I had the feeling that the greater part of the people would not kiss the crucifix, when they saw that one old man objected thereto. This individual said that indeed shells and tobacco were good, but that el Cristo was not, and that he held it in great dread. Hence arises the great risk that there is in these entradas, and in the beginning of the Foundations (of missions); a scene of the highest felicity and docility shifting in an instant to one of mishaps and fatalities. They told me that the sea was very far off; that otters they catch in lagunas very large; they possess many skins of deers, and there come to purchase them the Indians of the west, of whom I saw some who urged me that I should go to their land, conducting themselves toward me with great affability, and assisting the mule and the baggage to cross over. Though I used diligence to ascertain the depth of this branch of the river with a stout stick of about three varas in length, I was unable (to do so); for the strong current bent it, though it was steadied against the bridge. The Indian Sevastian told me afterward that when he came in search of me on this very spot, he tried it by fastening a large stone to the hitching-rope (*cabresto*, for *cabestro*), and that it took the whole length of the same, which was seven varas. The Indians told me that here had been Sevastian, and that already had he gone away with the Jamajabs, and they gave (me) also to understand that they had killed (*jareado*) the mule; all of which added much concern to that which I felt, and confirmed me in the idea that had occurred to me above, when I saw the meat and the skull.

---

[33] *Alisos* is the word used. Those whose notions of alders are based on such bushes as *Alnus serrulata* or *A. incana*, might wonder at a bridge said to be built of alders. But *A. rhombifolia*, the species of the region where Garcés is traveling, is a tree sometimes 70 or 80 feet high, and *A. oregona* grows still larger. The sycamore is also called *aliso* in California.

---

[26] Garcés is back on Kern river, his Rio de San Felipe, at the point where it sends off two arms; one of these, the main stream, continuing to Tulare lake, and the other, an overflow stream, spilling in the direction of Kern and Buenavista lakes (apparently the lagunas and pantanos of the text). The rancheria named San Miguel, etc., may therefore be identified with the site of Bakersfield; see note [11], p. 280. The whole context of to-day would indicate that he first struck Kern river at or near the mouth of Walker river, and thus not far above Bakersfield, to which place he now comes down.

[27] Unidentified: compare *macuilxochitl*, defined in Siméon's Nahuatl Dict. as "Caryophyllum mexicanum, a medicinal plant."—F. W. H.

May 8. I departed, accompanied by three Quabajay Indians, and by other mountain Indians (*Serranos*) who had come to that rancheria, and went three leagues southsouthwest. The Serranos betook themselves to their land, and I proceeded with the Quabajay on courses southeast and east, passing by dry lagunas, woods, and a level plain much undermined by the tusas,[29] of which there are infinite numbers in all the plains that I have seen of the Quabajay higher up; we fell down, the mule and myself, and several times I was in danger of the same, because of the insecurity of the ground. In the fall I lost the compass needle, and did not think of returning to search for it, because it made me afraid to see a land so dry and dangerous to travel. I arrived at the Quabajais, having gone six leagues further. So festive were the Quabajais, that there was a dance this night and the next day; but I meanwhile was full of concern at finding here not one of my companions. There came next day [May 9] the Jamajab Luis with two beasts and a message from the captain of the Pueblo de San

---

[29] *Tusa, tusa,* or *tuça* is a Mexican name of certain pouched rats or pocket-gophers of the genus *Geomys*, one species of which, inhabiting Florida, is now technically known as *G. tusa.* But these animals do not burrow in such fashion as to render a plain dangerous to ride over, and what Garcés means is the common gray ground squirrel or spermophile of California, *Spermophilus beecheyi*, extremely abundant in the region he is now traversing, where it honeycombs the ground with its burrows, and is a nuisance to agriculture. See note [11], this chapter, where the Pohallin-tinleh are so called on account of these squirrel holes.

Pasqual that I should come quickly to his rancheria. He told me that Sevastian had gone back in search of me to the Rio de San Felipe; I determined to await him, and he arrived in the evening with no news.

May 10. I went over to the Rancheria de San Pasqual, where I found two Jamajabs recently arrived from their land (the others who had accompanied me had already gone back, leaving only Luis and Bentura): hence is to be inferred the frequent commerce that the Jamajabs hold with these nations and those of the sea. Here they supplied us with pinole de chia, rabbits, and small loaves (*i. e.*, cakes—*panecillos*) of seeds, offered in great glee and not even half paid for by what was given in return (*ni aun medio pagado en la recompensa*). They reiterated the question of when would I come back again; I continued to counsel the captain that there should be no more war against those of Santa Clara, where they had killed another captain. I was intent upon persuading him that the Españoles were a good people; to which he would by no means assent, bearing very much in mind the baskets (*coritas*) and other valuables of which the passengers[80] had robbed them. One old man among others who arrived gave the information that in those days there had passed by the western border of the sierra women and cattle; and further, that many people and horses had come back.[40] I was obsequious to said old man, and urged upon the Jamajabs that they should return with me to (Rio de) San Felipe in order to follow up river to the Chemebet Quajala, but this they refused to do; for, though there was no difficulty about it, yet thence to their land there intervened very rough sierras that the beasts could not traverse because they were very lame. Although this project was unsuccessful, I accomplished the return journey by a different route.[41]

---

[80] *Pasageros*, passengers, travelers, wayfarers; *sc.*, the members of the Spanish expedition.

---

[40] The return of the Anza-Font expedition of 1776, from San Francisco southward, was in April along those portions of the route to which Garcés' old man referred in saying that mounted troops "had come back." It can be followed with precision in Font's Diary before me, but this is not the place to go into those particulars.

[41] "Aunque no se consiguió esto logré el volver por distinto camino," which I have rendered rather freely in the text. From Apr. 24, when through the Tejon (?) pass Garcés entered the Tulares, he has been knocking about a comparatively small area on the S. and E. of the valley and adjoining skirts of the mountains, never further N. than White river. We have followed him pretty closely, though not with entire precision. To-day, May 10, he starts from his Rancheria de San Pasqual to return to the Mojaves by a different route, until he strikes his outward trail on reaching the Mojave river. His mean course will be due E. to the Mojave river, crossing the mountains by the pass between the Sierra Nevada and Tehachapai ranges—the same by which the railroad now goes from Bakersfield to Mojave station. I was last over this road in 1891.

May 11. I surmounted the Sierra de San Marcos on the east and northeast, and having gone thus far two leagues I halted at a laguna which I called (Laguna) de San Venancio.[43]

May 12. I went one league in the same direction; half a league northwest (*sic*), one league southsoutheast, and yet another southeast. Here I found a ranchería of a people of a different language from the Noches and Quabajais, and whom the Jamajabs call Cobaji; and I discovered them to be those whom the Noches themselves call by the name of Noches Colteches.[44] There were here none but women and children, who made us presents of meat, seeds, and even of two baskets to take along with us. There are here firs, oaks, and many other kinds of trees. I returned the favor with some small shells (*cuentesillas*), such as they prize, but the women told me that they regaled me solely because we were so needy; that their nation was generous (*bizarra*), not stingy like that on the west. I believe they are right about this, for those of the west are dealers even among their very selves,

[43] Certainly Garcés never got over the main range in anything like two leagues; which I suppose to be only the distance he traveled between his San Pasqual and San Venancio. See May 17, p. 305, when he came out of the mountains. Bancroft, Hist. Cal., i, p. 277, says Garcés "left the valley probably by the Tehachepi Pass but possibly by Kelso Valley."

[44] See back, p. 295, date of May 5.

and by so much the more do they value and take care of their possessions—though certainly I have no reason to complain of them. These people are very robust, the women at least, who are the only ones I saw, as the men were out hunting. They told me that toward the northnortheast there were many people, and that I could go there. As the hospitality was good, I tarried at their invitation the 13th day.

May 14. I went one league and a half southeast and halted in an arroyo that I called (Arroyo) de la Ascencion.[48] The Jamajabs knew not the road, so that I was obliged to charge it upon Sevastian that he should go to seek it accompanied by Bentura, I remaining with Luis [May 15, 16].[49]

May 17. I went six and a half leagues southsoutheast, and having come out from the sierra entered upon some plains, grassy but lacking in trees and water.[50] Nevertheless I found a small pozo; and at half a league further southward I found another, with only water enough for ourselves and the beasts; but by digging deeper these wells they would hold water in abundance, for the plain is marshy (*pantanóso*) like an alkaline cienega.

---

[48] Unidentified.

[49] No entries for the 15th and 16th, during which days no doubt Garcés stayed in camp, awaiting the return of his two scouts. Neither the Beaumont MS. nor the pub. Doc. has anything.

[50] Garcés emerges from the mountains in the vicinity of Mojave station, where the railroad branches, one line running due S. toward Los Angeles, the other continuing eastward to the Mojave river and so on. One who has traversed the dreary waste upon which Garcés now enters will recognize the fidelity of his description.

May 18. Having gone two and a half leagues southsoutheast I entered upon a very wide plain wherein I found a pozo like the foregoing ones; it is evident that this plain has been a laguna in times past.[47]

May 19. I traveled four and a half leagues in the same direction and fell upon the Rio de los Martires near the position observed before in 34° 37′.[48]

May 20, 21, 22. I retraced the same road that I had come, as far as the Pozos de San Juan de Dios.[49]

May 23. Quitting the road of the coming, I directed my steps to the eastnortheast, and having gone two leagues I halted in the sandy plain (*medano*) where there was a Chemebet rancheria.

---

[47] The whole alkaline waste between the mountains and the Mojave river is marked with small dry lakes, pools, and potholes, fully justifying this observation.

[48] He is again upon the Mojave river: see back, 242, Mar. 17, where the observation for latitude taken on the river is given as 34° 37′. Garcés appears to strike the river about where the railroad does.

[49] Having descended the Mojave river, Garcés reaches the wells where he was on Mar. 8: see note[11], p. 258. From this position he reaches the Colorado by a road a little further north than the one on which he went before.

May 24. Here I tarried because some of the Jamajabs who had arrived at this rancheria for the commerce of shells were taken sick.

May 25. I went four and a half leagues eastsoutheast, completing the crossing of the sandy plain and of the Sierra de Santa Coleta.[60]

May 26. I traveled three leagues eastnortheast, with one turn to the south, and halted nigh unto a pozo, scant of water in consequence of its shallowness, which I named (Pozo de) San Felipe Neri.[61]

May 27. I traveled five leagues east and northeast. The continuous sierras abound in grass and are clothed with a few trees.

May 28. I went one league and a half on a course northeast, and came to a good watering-place that I named Aguage de la Trinidad. Here I saw a Chemebet rancheria. In the afternoon I went a league and a half southeast and halted in another rancheria at the request of its Indians. In the sierra there is a water-tank.

---

[60] So named Mar. 6, when Garcés was at Cedar springs: see back, p. 236.

[61] St. Philip Neri, or Filippo de' Neri in Italian, was born at Florence July 22, 1515, founded the Congregation of the Oratory, died at Rome May 25, 1595, and was canonized in 1622. I do not feel quite sure of the Pozo named for him, but if it were not modern Rock springs, it was in that vicinity. Likewise, the place named Aguage de la Trinidad on the 28th was probably Piute springs.

May 29. Having gone two leagues east I found a well of very abundant water, and having gone seven more on a course southeast, I reached the Pozo de San Casimiro.[illegible]

May 30. Having gone three leagues eastsoutheast I re-entered into the Jamajab nation. Inexplicable are the expressions of delight which said nation made to see me again in their land. They had summonsed to my arrival the Yabipais Tejua, Jaguallapai, Chemebets, and Jalchedunes, in order that in my presence all might speak at great length and celebrate peace firmly. To this end they gave me to understand that a detention of eight days was required, notwithstanding they were aware (*en medio de saber ellos*) that I had received a letter from the señor comandante of the expedition, and another from my companion Fray Tomás (Eisarc), in which they notified me to return without delay to the Yumas.[illegible] In

---

[illegible] See back, at date of Mar. 4, p. 235 and note there.

[illegible] Anza's expedition, having left the vicinity of San Francisco early in April, reached the Colorado at Yuma on May 11 (Font's camp mark "130"). The following extract from Font's Diary of that day bears upon the above passage:

"Reciprocal and great was the joy that I had to see Padre Fray Thomas Eixarch content and safe in this place, living with the general council of these five nations, such was the crowd, clamor, and confusion they made, that for this and the heat I feared that I might be sick. At last they all made terms of peace (*las pases*) with signs that it was to be kept up (*con señales de perseverancia*), to their great joy and my entire satisfaction. On this occasion I talked much with the Jallaguapais [*sic*] about the distance of Moqui and New Mexico; to

---

such satisfaction among so many gentiles, who are well disposed toward the Spaniards, and worthy of appreciation and esteem, especially Captain Palma. This Puerto de la Concepcion, situated a little below the confluence of the Gila and Colorado, is a place of some bluffs (*territos*) of moderate elevation, which form a little pass, through which the Colorado is straitened, and on leaving which it again spreads; so that this is the situation of a very pleasant vista, and the best place I have seen on the river for settlement, because it is immediately upon the river, yet secure from its inundations, however much it may overflow; though of such little extent, that the small uneven mesa which it makes would hold no more than the church and a few houses, [etc.—a good description of the bluffs on which Fort Yuma stands]. Here we met Padre Fray Thomas Eixarch, who came to live here with Captain Palma, as this was a better place than that where we left him when we went away, distant from this puerto one league up river, where also one could not maintain himself during the rise in the river. We were expecting to find in this place Padre Fray Francisco Garcés; but he was not here, nor had Padre Fray Thomas had any word from him since he went up river to the Jalchedunes. The last word we had had from Garcés was the letter of April 15 which he wrote to señor comandante Ansa from the mission which they responded fully, giving me information of all the land that lay hence to the capital [Santa Fé]. I desired to go there, but the letters received obliged me to descend to the Yumas.

Next day [May 31] I took leave of all, first making some presents, especially to the Jaguallapais. At the departure of these for their lands, when they reached the river some of the Jamajabs set up a yell,

of San Gabriel, where he was during holy week, early in April. . . In this letter he said that he should return to the Jamajá nation, as that was necessary, and that afterward, if he should learn of anything worth his while (*algo de bueno*) he would keep on [to Moqui], but if not, he would come down the Colorado to await us, so that we could go back together. When we arrived at the mission of San Gabriel the padres there told us, that when Padre Garcés left he said, speaking of his journey, that if he met Indians who would accompany him, and he did not think there would be much difficulty in this, his intention was to keep on inland (*internarse*) and discover a route to New Mexico. When we reached Puerto de la Concepcion we got a rather confused report that Padre Garcés was among the Jalchedunes. So the señor comandante immediately sent an Indian interpreter there with a letter in which he informed him (Garcés) of our arrival, and saying that in three days we should continue our journey. This was time enough for the padre to come here, if he was there; but the padre did not come in the three days, nor did the messenger return, nor could we get any word of him after the more than three months which had passed. Whence I inferred, that Padre Garcés had found a way and the means of going to New Mexico as he desired, or else that he had met with some great setback in his apostolic wishing to kill them on account of some relatives of theirs whom they (the former) had killed in the previous wars. This determination was repressed by the principal Indians of the rancheria, agreeably with the peace which had just been celebrated through my intervention. They brought the Jaguallapais to where I was; and seeing them so terrified and mistrustful—as I likewise was, having little faith in the Jamajabs—I instantly told them to have no fear, for I was determined to accompany them myself. Noth-

---

journeyings, on which he had started somewhat sick; if indeed he had not died or been killed by Indians. I note that when Señor Ansa dispatched the interpreter with the letter, he ordered him, if he did not find Padre Garcés, but found his beasts, to bring them. This he did without minding (*sin hacerse cargo*) that Padre Garcés might be there, or further off, and would need them when he should return, as actually happened. It shows the delicacy of Señor Ansa, and such are the favors which he says he always shows to padres. This I knew for certain, because the interpreter himself told me so when he returned; on my asking him why he had brought the beasts, leaving the padre in want of them, he replied that he could do nothing else, being under orders, and that his master Señor Ansa had so ordered; and this he said in the presence of Señor Ansa, without being contradicted."

Thus things are seen to have been as pleasant as ever between Anza and Font, when they returned to the Colorado. The letter above said, which was dispatched on the 12th, appears to have reached Garcés at Mojave. The expedition crossed the Colorado, and left the mouth of the Gila on the 16th, taking with them Padre Eisarc and Captain Palma.

ing could dissuade me from this resolution, even though there are encountered as a rule, many difficulties in such an enterprise. Immediately went on ahead one Jaguallapai with two Jamajabs to notify the nation of the former that I was coming to their lands. Anticipating that I should be unable to return to the Jamajabs, I left orders with Sevastian that unless I was there within a few days he should go down with the Jalchedunes to their lands. This Indian, who was the only one that remained still in my service—for the interpreters had returned to the expedition—was unwilling to follow me, for all that I begged him to do so.